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Cover illustration. Elite Argentine family's summer house, built ca. late nineteenth century. (Detail from fig. 13, p. 1063.) Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, Colleción Witcomb.

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The *AHR* and the AHA: An Editorial

The financial crisis through which the American Historical Association is passing results in part from the inflationary pinch in which every organization finds itself these days. To that general problem, however, are added two pressures more specific to the AHA: one, the marked increase in activities and services over recent years; the other, the academic recession, which has brought a leveling off in number of members and in anticipated dues income. The cash balance with which the business office must operate is far from adequate, and at times in the past fiscal year meeting payrolls and printing bills has been, as Wellington said of Waterloo, "a damned nice thing—the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life." At least qualitatively, the AHA has shared a situation all too familiar in parts of the university world.

The search for economy goes on constantly at the Washington headquarters these days, but prices continue to rise, and it is clear that cheeseparing alone—even rather brutal cheeseparing—is not going to remedy the situation. Merely gaining reasonable security for ordinary day-to-day operations, let alone a sufficiency to allow for coping with emergencies or expanding into new services, must depend on increasing income. And that means primarily increasing the number of members and subscribers.

The Council is considering means of bettering performance on both these counts. It may be useful in the interval, however, to say something about the role of the *AHR* in the financial affairs of the AHA. The *AHR* is the largest and most expensive single operation within the AHA: the biggest bills the AHA pays are printing bills for the *AHR*, and a little under 40 per cent of the salary allocation in the headquarters staff goes to the *AHR*. But there are less immediately obvious ways in which the *AHR* figures in the financial picture. It is to those interrelations and their implications that this editorial is directed.

BASIC FINANCE

Although the *AHR* means large outlays for printing and salaries, the *AHR* also produces large amounts of revenue, revenue that would simply not

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exist if the *AHR* did not exist. Two sources of this revenue are major items in the AHA balance sheet:

(1) Subscription revenue—that is, money paid by libraries and other institutions for the *AHR*—runs well over $140,000 per year.

(2) Advertising revenue yields somewhat less, but if a modest anticipated rise in advertising rates does not adversely affect the volume of advertising, anticipated income from this source may begin to approach the income from subscriptions.

In the calculations that follow, only these two clearly definable and measurable items are used as *AHR*-generated income. But additional sources of revenue that arise solely from the *AHR* include:

(1) A relatively small income from sales of back copies.

(2) Income from permissions to reprint articles, and from royalties on the reprinting and microreproduction of the entire journal.

(3) Income from promotional activities. Over the past three years copies of the *AHR* sent to libraries have carried two coupons. At a total cost for printing and insertion of under $3,000, this campaign has secured more than 1,650 new members, just under two-fifths of them regular members and the remainder student members—a net yield of more than $16,000.

(4) Finally, an indeterminate amount must be reckoned for those memberships held by persons who join the AHA only because they want to receive the *AHR*. Present constitutional provisions do not allow individuals to subscribe separately.

Two conclusions follow: Subscription and advertising revenue *alone* cover about 70 per cent of the total cost of producing the *AHR* (including distributed overhead), a proportion that would rise somewhat if the other sources of *AHR*-generated income could be taken into account. It follows, using the membership circulation for the issue for June 1972 and including salaries and office overhead in total cost, that, in effect, no more than $6.50 (and probably somewhat less) of a member's dues pays for the five issues of the *AHR* he receives each year. This sum invites favorable comparison, considering size, coverage, and quality, with any other learned journal to which a member may subscribe.

Some consideration must be given to a large increase in resources made available in 1969. In that year the AHA severed its connection with the Macmillan Company. From 1895 to 1969 the *AHR* was published by Macmillan, under a contract that was singularly generous when the journal was founded and its future uncertain. Macmillan never provided any editorial services under that contract: they were the responsibility of the managing editor and his then very small staff. To this end the Macmillan Company contributed $2,400 per year, the salary of an assistant editor in 1895. (It might be pointed out, at the risk of a mutiny in the present staff, that that sum was the equivalent in purchasing power of perhaps $12,000 in 1970.) The services the publisher provided were maintaining the list of subscribers,

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but not of AHA members; handling financial and contractual (but not editorial) matters with the printer; and securing the advertising. The Macmillan Company also agreed to absorb any losses the *AHR* might incur. In return the board of editors (and, after the sale of the journal in 1917, the AHA) agreed to pay the publisher a 10 per cent commission on advertising secured and one-third of the net income (if any) of the journal.

These terms, including the payment of $2,400 for editorial services, were still in effect in 1968. But by that time Macmillan was receiving some $7,000 in agency fees and some $30,000 as its share of the net income. When the AHA became its own publisher in 1969 that money became immediately available to the AHA and the *AHR*. The money made possible expansion of the staff and services of the *AHR* and improvement of the salary scale and accompanying fringe benefits for the entire AHA staff. The *AHR* had long been working with an entirely inadequate staff, in terms of numbers, and under routine pressure so great that there was no possibility of expanding and improving the scholarly usefulness of the journal or of finding time for long-range planning: the editing was done, the deadlines were met, and that was all. The salaries were scandalously low—and this in a city where decent academic scales (all that we have aspired to) are inevitably at a disadvantage compared with what government and private agencies pay. Without the expansion of staff that this change permitted, none of the improvements in the *AHR* in the last few years would have been possible; and members of the AHA must feel some relief in knowing that their association no longer presumes upon the self-sacrifice of its staff. The work load is still heavy and deadlines still press, but we are no longer using sweated labor.

One final point must be made about basic finance. Over the three fiscal years from 1969 to 1972, the advertising and subscription revenue from the *AHR* has gone up by roughly 50 per cent. Over the same period the percentage of total AHA revenue ascribable *to these two* AHR *items alone* has risen from about 27 per cent to 32 per cent. Meanwhile, the total expenditures on the *AHR* (including distributed overhead) have remained virtually constant as a proportion of total AHA expenditure, falling from an even 46 per cent to 45.3 per cent. Taking actual amounts of money, from the fiscal year 1969–70 to the fiscal year 1970–71, total expenditures for the *AHR* rose by roughly $42,000, while its income from advertising and subscriptions rose by roughly $45,000—more than covering the increased expenditure, even without taking into account the money made available by the termination of the Macmillan contract and without drawing more heavily than before on dues income. The increase in expenditures on the *AHR* from 1970–71 to 1971–72 was roughly $25,000, while income from advertising and subscriptions rose by almost half again as much, by some $36,000. The additional revenues the *AHR* has generated have in good part gone to support expanded AHA operations.

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OPERATING COSTS

Since 1968 the editors of the *AHR* have made a number of changes in editorial policy and practice.

(1) The review articles are probably the most immediately evident innovation, one apparently much welcomed. Review articles have, of course, increased the amount of space devoted to articles.

(2) The bibliographical services have been markedly altered. A bibliographer has been added to the staff of the *AHR* (though a part of his time goes to important AHA activities); he has introduced a number of technical changes while securing far more systematic coverage in the lists of periodical articles. We anticipate that other changes in the near future will make possible yet more efficient and sophisticated services. A future editorial will directly address the question of the obligations and accomplishments of the AHA and the *AHR* in the field of bibliographical control.

(3) Promotional campaigns have been launched to increase memberships and subscriptions, an effort that will grow as we gain time, resources, and experience to allow the careful planning that must underlie such work.

(4) A good many technical reforms have improved the effectiveness of the operations within the *AHR* staff. They include ways of keeping down the printer's charges for authors' alterations; more systematic handling of the extremely complicated matter of copyright and permissions, along with more generous financial provision for the authors of articles involved; rationalization and simplification of copyediting procedures; and improved filing and record keeping.

As the proportional figures above suggest, these changes have been made with a steady eye to cost-effectiveness, as well as to a careful assessment of their scholarly usefulness.

By all odds the most striking change that has been made in the *AHR* is the redesign that took effect in February 1971. While the welcome accorded this new format, within the AHA and outside it, has been overwhelmingly favorable, some members have continued to be plagued by doubts about the wisdom of such a departure at precisely the time the AHA was entering a period of financial stringency. This concern has been anticipated and answered on earlier occasions, both in the *AHR* and in the report of the managing editor for 1971. But, as the question of whether we can afford such luxury persists, a fuller, more prominent explanation is called for.

The problem of controlling printing costs is a very difficult one, inasmuch as, in recent years, operating costs in the printing industry have risen some 5 to 7 per cent annually. At the same time significant technological changes have been taking place. These have offered opportunities to control costs but have in some instances required changing specifications. The production cost of any publication is determined by the cumulative effect of three factors—physical specifications, design esthetics, and quantity of material. We can examine each of these factors as they apply to the *AHR*.

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PHYSICAL SPECIFICATIONS: In close consultation with our printer, we have undertaken a number of technological changes.

(1) Beginning with the issue for December 1968 we changed from the traditional book-sewn binding to adhesive binding, at a considerable saving.

(2) We are now using computerized composition to set and store indexes, thus making possible the publication of cumulative indexes, at five-year instead of ten- or twenty-year intervals, without the necessity for resetting.

(3) The lists of periodical articles are being set by computer, allowing some slight saving in cost, greater ease of proofreading, and far greater capacity for control and retrieval and for future flexibility of service.

(4) We have converted from sheetfed letterpress to web offset printing. A number of consequences—and opportunities—have flowed from this basic transformation.

(a) Paper. The paper presently used for the *AHR* is cheaper, though no less permanent, than the basic text stock used in the old format. The web offset process allows us to print illustrations on the same kind of paper used for text matter. Because advertisers have always required the possibility of illustration, the old format and technique required the use of a different, much more expensive coated stock for the advertising section. This use of two kinds of paper in the old *AHR* was not only costly, it was by general agreement ugly and caused more than a few crises in laying out advertising and front matter.

(b) Illustrations. The use of pictures in the text, prohibitively expensive with the old methods, is relatively inexpensive with the new. It costs much less to prepare a page of illustrative material for a web offset press than it does to set a page of type. The printer's charges for preparing illustrations have averaged around fifty to seventy-five dollars for each issue.

(c) Cost. The most expensive single issue ever produced, in terms of printing cost per copy, was that for October 1968, using the old process and format: $1.25 per copy for 432 pages of editorial text and 92 of advertising. In the report of the managing editor for 1971 it was pointed out that the average per-copy cost of the last three issues printed by letterpress in the old design was just under $.98, while the average per-copy cost of the first three issues printed by offset in the new design was just over $.93, although the general level of printing costs rose that year; the amount of material in each set of three issues was, so nearly as it can be calculated, roughly the same. Another comparison follows. Constructed on the basis of groups of five issues running from October through June, this table represents the organization of volumes prior to volume 76 rather than the present organization, which corresponds to the calendar year. But we gain in comparability over a four-year period and perhaps to some extent from the coinciding of this definition of the volume year with the AHA fiscal year.

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	Total pages of text per volume	*Average printing cost per copy*
1968–69	1828	1.06
1969–70[a]	1565	.97
1970–71[b]	1634	.95
1971–72	1757	1.04

[a] Shift to web offset printing with the issue for June 1970.
[b] Shift to new format with the issue for February 1971.

In summary, while printing costs have been rising, we are currently benefiting from an average printing cost per copy that is certainly no more than it was four years ago and is probably less. In terms of dollars, it is equivalent to at least a 20 per cent reduction over the four-year period. And we believe we are producing a better journal. The wisdom of our approach has been reinforced by the fact that we will have no increase in printing price in the coming year. We continue to look aggressively at new technologies and methods in a continual effort to control costs without sacrificing quality.

Design Esthetics: There is no question but that the *AHR* can be produced more cheaply. Smaller type sizes could be used, but the journal would be proportionately less readable. We could use still cheaper paper, but it would not look or wear as well, and its shelf life would in all probability be limited. It is in this connection that questions of technology and economics come together with questions of design.

The change in technology dictated redesign at the earliest possible moment, to gain still further economies as well as to take fullest esthetic advantage of the new methods. By way of illustration, we may raise two questions that have been asked about the design.

(1) Are we not wasting paper on bigger pages and wide margins? When the *AHR* was printed in its old size on the web offset press—the issues for June through December 1970—the copies had to be trimmed down; paper was thus wasted as scrap. We now take the fullest advantage of the size of the press. This determines the margins in the length of the page. Some saving in paper could be attained by narrowing the width margins. But to do so would produce a page with a rather queer shape. The present length of the line used in printing articles is the longest the linotype machine will set, and given the type size we are using, it is also probably the longest line that the eye can tolerate readily, in purely psychological terms. If the wider margins in the articles sections are a luxury, it is a very small one and pleasing as well; practically, they make the text easier to read in a book of this size. Material other than articles is now printed in double columns and in smaller type than in the old format; this means a very considerable gain in the amount of print on the page over what we used to manage. Together with the redesign of the headings, particularly in the review section, these changes in format mean a markedly more efficient use of paper.

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(2) How can we afford such a luxurious and elegant cover? The relative cheapness of using pictures has already been explained, but the glossy paper seems to stick in some readers' minds as the quintessence of extravagance. They are unaware that our paper cost for the journal itself is significantly lower than was the case in the old format, with savings that are scarcely eroded by the cost of the coated stock used for the covers. A cover for a copy of the *AHR* costs about a penny more than we paid for the old fraying and faded blue cover. The gain in durability is obvious, that in attractiveness should be equally obvious; and together with all our other economies they surely warrant a marginal increase in expenditure on this one item.

To sum up, one must make choices between esthetics and economics. As an editorial staff we have worked hard to understand the economic alternatives, to take the best advice available to us, and to make judgments that are sound both as to cost and as to appearance. Everyone knows that the cheapest product available is not invariably the best buy, and a cheaply produced journal is not going to attract readers, advertisers, or contributors. On this score, the new design seems to have made as well as saved money. Subscriptions have increased; the response to the coupon solicitation rose noticeably with the new design; perhaps most important of all, the level of advertising sold has held remarkably steady at a time when the publishing business has been cutting back on advertising budgets. The new printing methods, moreover, make the preparation of advertising copy easier, more flexible, and more certain; and a comparison of advertising in the new and old formats will quickly reveal how much more attractively designed the advertisements are—a direct consequence of the altered methods and design.

Even more important, the new design has proved more attractive to the *AHR's* audience—and not merely in an esthetic sense. The use of illustration has made it possible to attract a kind of article that would not have come to the *AHR* before, as it has made possible the enrichment of more traditional articles through a valuable but hitherto prohibitively expensive category of evidence. Of the truth of this statement the present issue is a remarkable confirmation. What is more, every evidence that has come into the Washington office has indicated a much higher degree of interest on the part of readers. Since the primary purpose of the *AHR* is scholarly communication, this last should be the only justification needed for the changes we have made, but it is pleasant to know that the better fulfillment of our central purpose could be accomplished with the added advantage of economic gain.

Quantity of Material: It is apparent from the table above that the *AHR*, after dropping back in size in 1969, has crept steadily up again. To some extent this has been deliberate. The present editors determined to try a greater flexibility than was possible before with respect to length of articles

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accepted and length of book reviews. There is no doubt, at least in the managing editor's mind, that this decision is completely justified from a scholarly point of view. It has been possible to give fuller attention and argument to important books, while gaining in the use of space by increasing resort to joint reviews. The greater amplitude allowed to authors of articles has been well used. Since the size of a given issue of the *AHR* is committed about a year in advance of its publication, the unusually large issue (by recent measures) for October 1971 was in press before the serious situation presented by the fiscal year 1970–71 was known. Readers will note a slimming down in some current and future issues; strict limitations have been put on the length of communications; fewer review articles will be published than we had hoped; on occasion the number of articles in an issue will drop from four to three or even two, at least partly in an effort to cope with a backlog of reviews that is building up. Some economy will result, but it will not be very great: a few pages here and there do not bring about a financial revolution.

A number of more drastic possibilities have been raised by members of the AHA and have been steadily in the minds of the editors. It is important to consider what such changes, if implemented, might mean.

(1) Dropping back from five issues per year to four. To cut a yearly volume to four issues would deny the AHA some $20,000–$25,000 in advertising revenue, almost exactly the cost of printing the issue. To do that would necessitate reducing the subscription rate as well, for subscribers pay only for the *AHR* and cannot be asked, by means of an indirect and ill-concealed rate increase, to subsidize the activities of the AHA. But even if there were no loss of income from subscriptions, the only sure gain from dropping one issue per year would be the saving of perhaps three thousand dollars for wrapping and postage, and much of that saving would undoubtedly be eaten up by increased postage on the remaining four issues, as they would each be considerably larger. Cutting out one issue would mean no saving in staff cost. The present members of the staff—some of whom also carry responsibilities for other publications and activities of the AHA—are stretched to (or beyond) the limit in putting out five issues; putting out four somewhat larger ones would not decrease the need for labor, but would merely redistribute it slightly in the calendar. Indeed it could be argued that the best economic course for the *AHR* would be to keep approximately the same amount of material in a volume and move to six issues per year. But that is not feasible with the present size of staff, and it is uncertain that the additional revenue generated by a sixth issue would cover the needed additions to staff.

(2) Cut the size of the journal drastically, whatever the number of issues. To do that would effect major economies in both staff and printing costs. But it would also completely transform the nature of the journal.

(a) The number of significant broad-scale articles we publish is already

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at about the lowest level consistent with maintaining the journal's obligation to cover all fields of history. To impose draconian limits on the size of articles might very well mean losing articles we would otherwise get; hence, little reduction can be counted on in that area.

(b) A likely candidate for the axe would be the bibliographical service. It should be kept in mind, however, that the present lists of articles, approximately 260 pages a year, cost the member about $.65 of his dues money. Abolishing the operation would save us 10 per cent of our overall costs. But if the bibliographical function were to vanish in an economy drive, nothing would take its place in providing notification of current periodical publication. To be sure, some fields are served, with varying success, by other journals and bibliographies. But what the *AHR* has been doing, for all fields of history, is unique.

(c) On the reviewing side no very great saving could be accomplished by reimposing the strict four-hundred-word limit that used to obtain. Real economy in this area would arise only by moving from a comprehensive to a highly selective reviewing policy—the form of reviewing that is practiced by every other historical journal in this country. Again much would be lost: perhaps half to three-quarters of books of the kind currently reviewed would be passed over and left to specialized journals, who might in their turn pass them over or touch on them only lightly; a good many foreign books that now come only to the *AHR* would simply not be reviewed in this country at all. Without claiming that the reviewing in the *AHR* is incapable of improvement, either in coverage or quality, we insist that in its present form it provides a service that, like the bibliographical operation, is vital to scholarship.

(d) Finally, it must be remembered that there is no other journal like the *AHR*. If, to paraphrase, the *AHR* were to lose all its distinctiveness by losing half its grossness, it might lose a great deal more besides. It would be less attractive to a number of readers who prize it for its comprehensiveness, to librarians who value its service as a record, and—crucially—to advertisers. It is impossible to predict what loss of membership and subscriptions might result, but that there would be loss seems certain. That loss might very well wipe out whatever gains were made by the economies.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The *AHR* cannot promise any windfalls to match those stemming from the change in publishers in 1969 or from the new technology and the accompanying redesign in 1970–71. The staff can promise to continue to seek economies in operation and to find ways of increasing the income that the *AHR* itself generates. Certain economies beyond those already mentioned are being effected for the duration of the current crisis:

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(1) One of the two meetings of the board of editors has been cancelled, as it was last year, although omitting this meeting necessarily increases staff work and inhibits effective planning.

(2) Funds for staff travel have been sharply reduced, even though attendance at scholarly meetings is an important way of recruiting articles and advertising, an aid to promotion, and the best means of extending the personal acquaintance so important to the effective working of the *AHR*, as a broadly based journal and as the principal publication of the major scholarly association in our discipline.

(3) Some improvements in our internal operations (for example, improved organization of a sadly outdated reviewer file) are sufficiently expensive that they must be stretched out over a longer period than we anticipated two years ago.

(4) Effective this past February, the board of editors decided, with great reluctance, to do away with the modest honorarium the *AHR* had offered (without advertising the fact) to authors of articles. It was only five dollars per printed page, and it helped to cover some typing and postage costs for authors. But it seemed better to save two or three thousand dollars a year there than to accept the alternative of doing away with the minimum quota of reprints we provide to authors of articles.

These small sums may mount up to something useful, but they are not going to solve the AHA's problems.

The present editors and staff of the *AHR* have, we believe, turned in a remarkable record of improved services, greater attractiveness, and genuine economy. With a stable and highly professional staff, a clearly defined purpose, and a commanding position in the profession and in the market place, the *AHR* will continue, so long as its present management is concerned with it, to be a journal of the highest quality and broadest interest. It will be maintained as well at the highest possible level of efficiency, both in organization and in cost. It is of course open to the AHA to decide to alter the essential nature of the journal in favor of other activities. But that would be a decision of great complexity, with consequences that would far outrun any obvious short-run gains in money. It is hoped that this editorial will have made clear, not only the rationale and accomplishments of changes in policy implemented over the past four years, but the possible consequences of a radically different definition of the journal and of its place within the American Historical Association and the profession of history in America.

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The Florentine Palace as Domestic Architecture

RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE

RENAISSANCE FLORENCE experienced a building boom probably more spectacular than that undergone by any other city in Europe throughout the Middle Ages. From the second half of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century construction was a general phenomenon throughout the city in all spheres of life—ecclesiastical, public, and private. Besides the completion of the cathedral, one of the largest churches in Christendom, with its great dome by Brunelleschi, the churches and monastic buildings of most of the dozen or so major orders in the city were largely, if not completely, remade. Almost a dozen new charitable institutions (*ospedali*) and many more, smaller convents were founded; and almost all the city's churches underwent some kind of architectural modification. At the same time a number of guilds erected new halls; and then, above all, there were the *palazzi*, the large private town houses of rich patricians, and their villas outside the city gates. All this building would be remarkable in any circumstance, but it is especially so in the case of Florence, inasmuch as the city, far from expanding, had experienced in the course of the fourteenth century such a drop in its population that by the beginning of the fifteenth century it was less than half the size it had been at the time of Dante—and it showed no signs of very dynamic growth throughout the period of the Renaissance. What is most remarkable is that this veritable building boom occurred during a period of stylistic innovation that marks one of the most glorious moments in the history of architecture.[1]

An earlier version of this article was delivered at a conference on the Renaissance at Wellesley College in February 1970. Additional research in Italy was made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

[1] The subject of the building of Renaissance Florence has hardly been touched by scholarship. A good general view is to be found in Gene Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1969), ch. 1. There is nothing comparable to the treatments of the medieval Tuscan city in W. Braunfels, *Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toscana* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1959) and in Enrico Guidoni, *Arte e urbanistica in Toscana, 1000–1315* (Rome, 1971); but for some provocative ideas, see P. Francastel, "Imagination et réalité dans l'architecture civile de '400," *Homage à Lucien Febvre—Éventail de l'histoire vivante*, 2 (Paris, 1953): 195–206. For the later sixteenth century, see Giorgio Spini, "Architettura e politica nel principato mediceo del Cinquecento," *Rivista storica italiana*, 33 (1971): 792–845. An impressive list of buildings attributed to the Michelozzo

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Private construction was by far the major sector of this building boom; perhaps as many as a hundred palaces were built in the course of the fifteenth century. In the history of art they represent an important stage in the elevation of domestic architecture to the realm of the fine arts and the introduction of a palace style that was picked up by the rest of Italy as well as all of Europe and imitated for the next three centuries. In the history of the city it is obvious that the total effect of the building of so many such vast works of art was the transformation of the physical appearance of the medieval city into the Florence we know today. Fourteenth-century descriptions of the city hardly mention private buildings; but for Benedetto Dei, writing about 1470, they were as important as public buildings in contributing to the glory of his "Fiorenza bella";[2] and a half century later Varchi almost tripled Dei's list of thirty notable palaces, adding that if one were to name merely those built after Dei wrote one "would have too much to do."[3] For Florentines at the time all this palace building clearly had a dramatic effect on the appearance of their city.

As much of an impression as the building of palaces made on contemporaries and as prominent as the palaces are even today on the Florentine scene, they have not been big enough to impress scholars. Even as art objects, to take the most salient aspect of the palaces, they constitute what one of the best architectural historians of Florence has called a no-man's land.[4] Almost all such structures are anonymous as works of art; they have not even been adequately cataloged. In these circumstances it goes without saying that we know hardly anything about the evolution of palace style in the Renaissance.[5] From an economic point

circle alone is to be found in Howard Saalman, "The Palazzo Communale in Montepulciano: An Unknown Work by Michelozzo," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 28 (1965): 44–46. The standard bibliographical guide to printed materials for churches and other ecclesiastical buildings is Walter and Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz* (Frankfurt, 1952–55); but the catalog of buildings in general by Walther Limburger, *Die Gebäude von Florenz* (Leipzig, 1910), is inadequate and long outdated. It is to be hoped that the recent international effort to inventory surviving urban buildings of the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance will arouse some interest in the urban development of Florence. See Robert S. Lopez, "Enquête sur l'architecture domestique et civile," in *Les constructions civiles d'intérêt public dans les villes d'Europe au Moyen Age et sous l'Ancien Régime et leur financement* (Pro Civitate, série Histoire, no. 27 [1969]), annexe, 7–12.

[2] Benedetto Dei, "Cronache," Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter ASF), MSS, no. 119, fol. 34v.

[3] Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina* (Florence, 1888), bk. 9, sec. 38. Other Florentines who mention specific palaces are Francesco Baldovinetti (C. von Fabriczy, "Aus dem Gedenkbuch Francesco Baldovinetti," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 28 [1905]: 539–44); Antonio Billi (*Il libro di Antonio Billi*, ed. Carl Frey [Berlin, 1892]; "Il libro di Antonio Billi," ed. C. von Fabriczy, *Archivio storico italiano*, 7 [1891]: 299–368); and Agostino Lapini (*Diario fiorentino*, ed. G. Odoardo Corazzini [Florence, 1900]).

[4] Howard Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," *Art Bulletin*, 46 (1964): 388.

[5] The catalog of Limburger with all of its inadequacies remains the most complete bibliography of printed materials; but Carocci's unpublished "Elenco degli edifizi monumentali" (1896) in the library of the Museo di Firenze com'era (shelf mark 25.D.27) is also useful. There is, however, a recent catalog of those palaces with decorated façades in Gunther and Christel Thiem, *Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration in Sgraffito und Fresko, 14. bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1964). A new series of fascicles, *Tutta Firenze ieri e oggi*, which began publication in

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Fig. 1. This detail of Bonsignori's aerial view of Florence in the late sixteenth century shows quite clearly how little built up some areas were, even those right in the center of the city. Photograph: Alinari.

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of view these palaces are an even bigger unknown. The construction of so many of them represented a significant shift in investment habits of the rich and at the same time provided a considerable stimulus to the internal economy of the city; yet none of this has ever been taken up by economic historians in their continuing and for the most part fruitless debates over the state of the Florentine economy.[6] Finally, the palace remains as big an unknown as a social phenomenon with respect to its function as a home—and what was a palace after all if not a home? It is the social aspect of the palace that is the subject of this article, and I offer it as the prolegomenon to the study of the palace not as an art object that marked a new era in taste but as a home that performed a new function in society.

IN THE COMMUNAL ERA the distinguishing feature of a great family's presence in the city was the concentration of the households of its various members in the same vicinity so that the family as a whole had a geographic identity in the city.[7] The great monuments of private architecture were in fact those structures that represented the families' collective public status and expressed their outward involvement in communal affairs. These structures were principally the great towers, where families defended themselves in their violent feuds with one another, and the open loggias on the streets, where residents assembled for public ceremonies in more tranquil times. The tower and the loggia served important public functions for the communal *consorteria* and symbolized its broad sociability and its internal cohesion in an era when public authority was still very feeble; and they were the focus of the family's location in the city. Even after the heyday of tower building, however, "new" families still tended to cluster together as they proliferated and grew in importance in business and politics. The Strozzi, for instance, at the opening of the fourteenth century bought up properties concentrated in the area of the present piazza Strozzi, including the piazza itself, which was bound by agreements among all the Strozzi to be preserved forever as their property;[8]

1971, is providing the popular market with a very full photographic coverage of palaces; another series has begun with Mario Bucci and Raffaello Bencini, *Palazzi di Firenze, introduzione all'architettura. Quartiere S. Croce* (Florence, 1971). This is not the place to present a full bibliography of the literature on the purely stylistic problems of Florentine palaces; but for two different general interpretations see Walter Paatz, "Ein antikischer Stadthaustypus im mittelalterlichen Italien," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 3 (1939): 129–40, and Bernhard Patzak, *Palast und Villa in Toscana: Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1912–13).

[6] In Florence it was in the construction industry and woodworking (which would include furniture) that the artisan class showed the greatest growth between 1352 and 1551. Pietro Battara, *La popolazione di Firenze alla metà del '500* (Florence, 1935), 85.

[7] An attempt to locate these family areas in the thirteenth century has been made by F. J. Carmody, "Florence: Project for a Map, 1250–1296," *Speculum*, 19 (1944): 39–49.

[8] There are a few surviving fragmentary records of the purchase of parts of the piazza by several Strozzi in 1326, along with a seventeenth-century copy of their agreement to maintain

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and the area became permanently identified with their presence. In the earlier period these family residential areas may have been something like great compounds, even architecturally enclosing the entire family and offering the possibility of being sealed off in times of public unrest. The sixteenth-century aerial view of the city by Bonsignori in which formal arches serve as entrance-ways to some side streets suggests that areas that may have corresponded to the concentration of residences of particular families achieved identity through architecture. With the possible exception of the so-called loggia of the Cerchi, no such archways survive today in Florence (although in Venice such structures can still be seen).[9]

Towers, loggias, family residential concentrations—these were the features of private architecture in the era of the commune. Individual buildings or palaces, although sometimes quite large, were not in themselves prominent monuments. Contemporaries do not even bother to mention them in their descriptions of the city.[10] Such buildings had little of what can properly be termed style; hence they lacked esthetic identity. Façades were often made of rusticated stone, but there was little variety and a minimum of decorative elements. At the street level there was usually a row of arched openings for entrances and shops (*archi da bottega*, as they are referred to in the documents) that ran continuously from building to building, so that the identity of each was somewhat lost in the continuity of the motif. Furthermore, to judge from the literary evidence of their destruction by fire and flood, riot and political vendetta, these earlier buildings could not have been very substantial structures. The worst fire was the holocaust of 1304, which, according to Villani, destroyed more than 1,700 buildings; and we have more than his testimony for the disaster wrought by the flood of 1333, which swept away almost everything along the river. Especially serious was the threat of fire, which was so ever-present that Paolo da Certaldo advised keeping large sacks and rope about the house so that when the alarm came one could collect his personal possessions and make a quick escape. The threat of political violence was just as serious: how often it is that the political annals tell us about the destruction by mob action of the houses of men whose political fortunes had gone awry. Considering all these

it always as a piazza, with a 1,000 florin penalty to whomever might build on it. ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 3, no. 123, fol. 66; no. 191, fols. 4–12. There are records of the acquisition of properties in this area by the Strozzi going back to the beginning of the fourteenth century; earlier than this they apparently were not concentrated there. See the plan of Carmody, "Florence: Project for a Map," *passim*.

[9] An architectural description of Florence about 1300 (with bibliography) has recently been made by Ugo Procacci in the *Enciclopedia dantesca*, 2 (Rome, 1970): s.v. "Firenze: l'aspetto urbano di Firenze dai tempi di Cacciaguida a quelli di Dante."

[10] The only private palace mentioned by these early chroniclers is that of the Tossinghi, which is described impressively by Malispini: "alto novanta braccia, fatto a colonnelli di marmo, e una torre con esso alta braccia centotrenta"; but it was destroyed in 1239, and considering the problems of dating Malispini's chronicle we can hardly be sure about the accuracy of the description. See Patzak, *Palast und Villa in Toscana*, vol. 1, bk. 1: 58, where there is a fanciful reconstruction of the palace.

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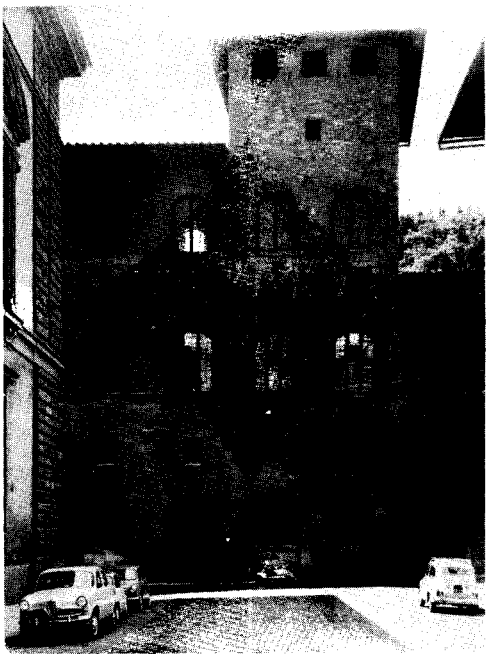


Fig. 2, left. The palaces of the Mozzi family, which probably have undergone much refinishing on the exterior, are among the few that survive from an earlier period. With their series of arches at street level, their unadorned façades, and the base of a tower, they represent something of the anonymity of the architecture of earlier palaces. Photograph: Alinari.

Fig. 3, below. Domenico Veneziano's *A Miracle of St. Zenobius,* a mid-fifteenth-century street scene. Notice the extensive use of wood buttressing *(sporti)* for protruding upper floors and roofs, a particularly hazardous feature that contributed to the prevalence of fires in the earlier period. Reproduced by permission of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



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aspects of their vulnerability it is not difficult to conclude that many of these medieval buildings could not have been the structures their successors were. The fifteenth-century biographer of Brunelleschi, looking back to the historical antecedents of the new palace style of his own era, was probably right in commenting that "during that period the method of building was very crude as may be observed in contemporary and earlier buildings."[11]

These earlier private buildings not only lacked structural monumentality and esthetic identity, but for the most part they had no precise functional identity. They must have been very much like the modern Italian *palazzo,* with shops below and apartments within. With the commercial activity of the shops at street level and stairways that opened directly onto the streets there was a constant penetration of street life into the palace, so that the private and public worlds were not so clearly demarcated. Within the palace ownership was frequently divided; and shops, apartments, and even single rooms could be held by a number of different parties not necessarily of the same family.[12] Buildings, therefore, did not identify single private residences; and conversely, the private household —even that of a patrician—did not necessarily have an architectural identity. When the very wealthy Messer Pagolo di Baccuccio Vettori wrote out in his diary a description of his house, he found that it was structurally all jumbled up with his neighbor's, with common walls, shared loggias, and division by floors—and he apparently was not very sure of being able to get an agreement on what the division actually was.[13] A century later Bartolomeo di Tommaso Sassetti (brother of Francesco, the rich business associate of the Medici) inherited the family house, or palace, as he calls it; but it was hardly a very private and distinct building. When the brothers divided it a room that should have remained part of the house somehow went instead to Francesco's house next door. Moreover, the window of an adjacent house was situated in Barto-

[11] Antonio Manetti, *The Life of Brunelleschi,* ed. Howard Saalman (College Park, Pa., 1971), 40 (commenting on Brunelleschi's first palace, for Apollonio Lapi).

[12] This vagueness about the identity of a building is frequently encountered in the tax declarations of the *catasto.* There it was customary to describe property in the city by identifying all contiguous properties; and when a declarant listed, for example, a shop that he may have owned in a larger building, he may not have described it as being in the building but may merely have listed the owners of the adjacent properties, whether or not they were other parts of the building. In such a case the fact that the shop was in a larger building would only emerge (if at all) from information on other declarations. This is a major obstacle to using *catasto* records to reconstruct the city as it appeared in the fifteenth century.

[13] "Ricordanza che addì xv di febraio ccclxviiii io Pagolo Vettori feci una scritta di mia mano a Capponcino che la pancha e'l tetto della loggia che passa il mio pilastro del muro è in su quello di Capponcino; e il muro della loggia della corte come tiene la loggia e la sala insino al bordone della sala è tutto del detto Capponcino, e dal bordone in su è tutto mio tanto quanto tiene la mia casa, e dinanzi dov'è la loggia è tutto mio il muro infino a' merli; e a ogni sua petizione debbo levare ciò che io tengo del suo e'l simile de' fare a nme di sgonbrare dove lui achupassi [*sic*] del mio"; but then he added out at the side, "non ebbe la scritta da nme." ASF, Carte Riccardi, no. 521 (*ricordi* of Messer Pagolo di Baccuccio Vettori, 1331–77), fol. 26r. Besides this residence, which was in the parish of San Jacopo sopr'Arno, Vettori possessed five other houses in the city and seventy-eight rural properties. *Ibid.,* fols. 18r–20r.

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lomeo's courtyard, and it was possible to enter his house from the window.[14] A product of the fifteenth century, when standards of privacy were more highly developed than they had been in the previous century, Sassetti eventually bought up these other properties precisely so he could close himself off in his own residence. But in the fourteenth century it must not have been unusual for even the rich and powerful to live in such an architectural hodgepodge. There may in fact be some basis in Trecento architectural reality for that marvelous sense of space in the *Decameron* where the continual flow of characters in and out of bedrooms and houses almost defies a definition of privacy.

It is not until the second half of the fourteenth century that the palace begins to come into its own as a distinctive and more conspicuous monument with a clearer stylistic and functional definition. In fact, although archeological research is still lacking, the few palaces traditionally considered medieval are very likely to have actually been built (or much rebuilt) after the Black Death. In any case, the pace of building increased toward the end of the century; and in contrast to the anonymous buildings of an earlier era the homes men now built slowly assumed something of the individuality of minor works of art. Unfortunately that process has never been subjected to a careful morphological analysis. It seems to have begun with the esthetic isolation of façades from their neighbors by emphasis of the principal entrance and eventually by elimination of all other openings at the street level. Slowly over the next century more possibilities were developed for treatment of the entire façade, usually with a complex system of rustication or contrasting use of *intonico* and stone, but sometimes with an elaborate surface decoration in fresco or *sgraffito;* and there was more conscious use of decorative elements such as string lines, window moldings, cornices, and even pilasters. Inside, too, there were innovations, notably interior vaulted staircases, the opening up of a large rectangular courtyard surrounded by arcaded porticos and loggias, and the beginning of systematic planning of internal space. With such ideas as these—all expressed with an increasingly classical vocabulary—architects were finally able to endow the private Florentine home with what can properly be called style.

Another dramatic feature of these new homes is the scale on which they were built. There were of course very large medieval palaces (if one is to accept the traditional but dubious dating of some surviving buildings), but even the average Renaissance palace is an extraordinarily massive building for a home, a social fact not usually commented on by art historians. Henry James, for one, was struck by the sheer height of the structures; four centuries after they were built he could still write that they were "the tallest habitations in Europe that are frankly and

[14] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 5, no. 1750 (accounts and *ricordanze* of Bartolomeo di Tommaso Sassetti, 1455–71), fols. 181 left, 184 left.

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amply habitations—not mere shafts for machinery of the American grain-elevator pattern." They are so beautifully proportioned that we can easily overlook the fact that their usual elevation of three stories is two, perhaps even three, times the height of three-story buildings in our less spacious (and less well proportioned) age. Their horizontal extent is no less impressive. As we know from tax records (the *catasto*) in almost all cases each palace replaced three or more pre-existing structures, usually including the former family residence. Some, in fact, were not altogether new constructions but primarily new façades behind which several older buildings were simply thrown into a single residence. Virtually all had a large open interior space in the form of an arcaded courtyard; and many originally had private gardens attached to them, even those in the center of the city—so many that both Dei and Varchi considered the fact worth mentioning as a distinguishing characteristic of the Florence they were describing.[15]

The Renaissance palace, in short, represented the esthetic identification of the private home and at the same time a dramatic enlargement of residential space. These buildings were more significant structurally as well. Looking at this new generation of palaces today it is hard to imagine that flood or fire or even the will of an infuriated mob could do much damage to them, and indeed by the fifteenth century we do not hear anything more about this kind of destruction in the annals of the city. It can be no accident that they increasingly come to be called palaces, not simply houses—"a house, or rather a palace," as they are described time and time again by their owners in tax declarations and private accounts. According to Varchi they were veritable palaces, which had "all the ornaments and all the comforts that houses can have, such as terraces, loggias, stables, courtyards, hallways and rooms, and above all" —he concludes on a more practical note—"if not two, at least one well with healthy and fresh water."[16] And the very word *palazzo* was generally reserved by the architectural theorists only for the homes of princes.

One could speculate on the urban shift, as we would call it today, that must have occurred with the building of palaces throughout the city. To the extent that they replaced former commercial space, the building of so many of them must have had a considerable total effect on the dislocation of local commerce, so that in those areas where palaces were concentrated—contemporary observers singled out the via Maggio, the via dei Servi, the via Tornabuoni, and borgo Pinti—the bustle of street life must have been appreciably reduced. A good example of this transformation is the piazza Strozzi. Although since the early Trecento this was the nucleus of the great Strozzi clan, it was also a busy urban area, full of many modest houses and shops of all kinds. In the mid-fifteenth

[15] Dei, "Cronache," fols. 29r–35v; Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, bk. 9.
[16] *Storia fiorentina*, bk. 9, sec. 38.

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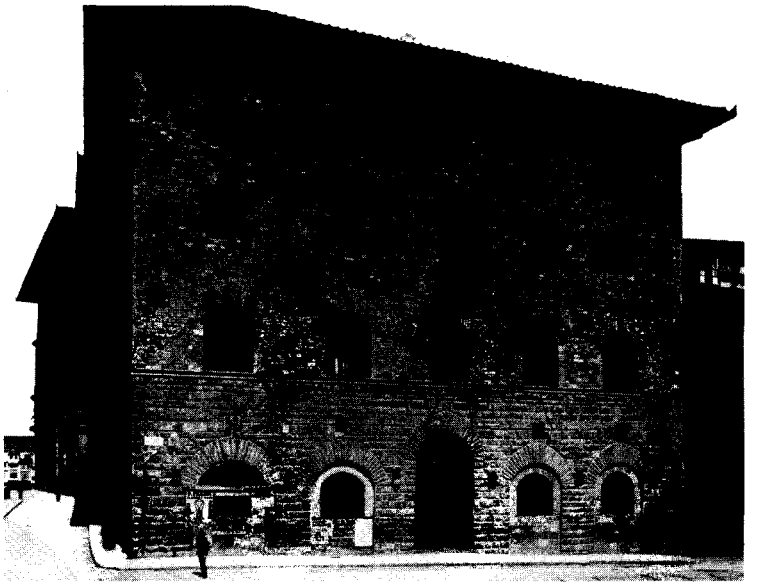
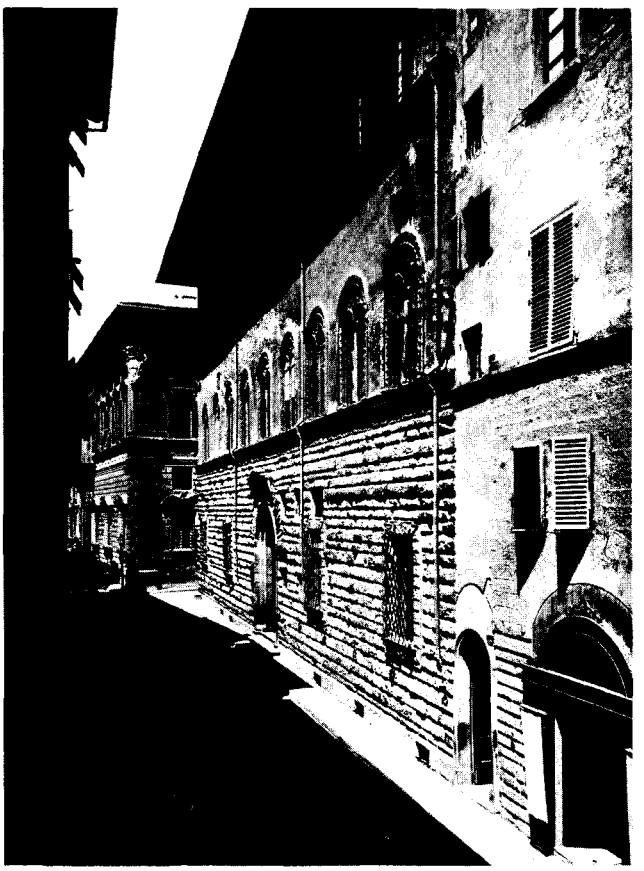


Fig. 4, above. The Castellani palace, built in the second half of the fourteenth century (and later enlarged), represents a stage in the development of increased esthetic identification of the palace. Besides the somewhat irregular arched openings, the principal entrance becomes the central focus of the building; and the rustication of the lower level is an additional embellishment. Photograph: Alinari.

Fig. 5, below. The Pazzi palace, with its contrasting use of rustication and *intonico* and its richly decorated window moldings. Photograph: Alinari.



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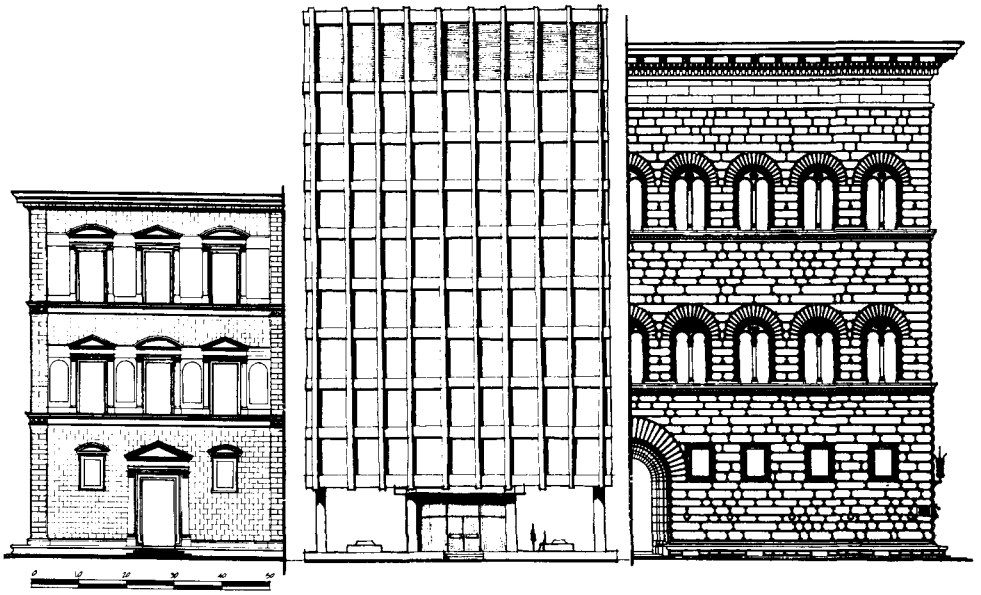
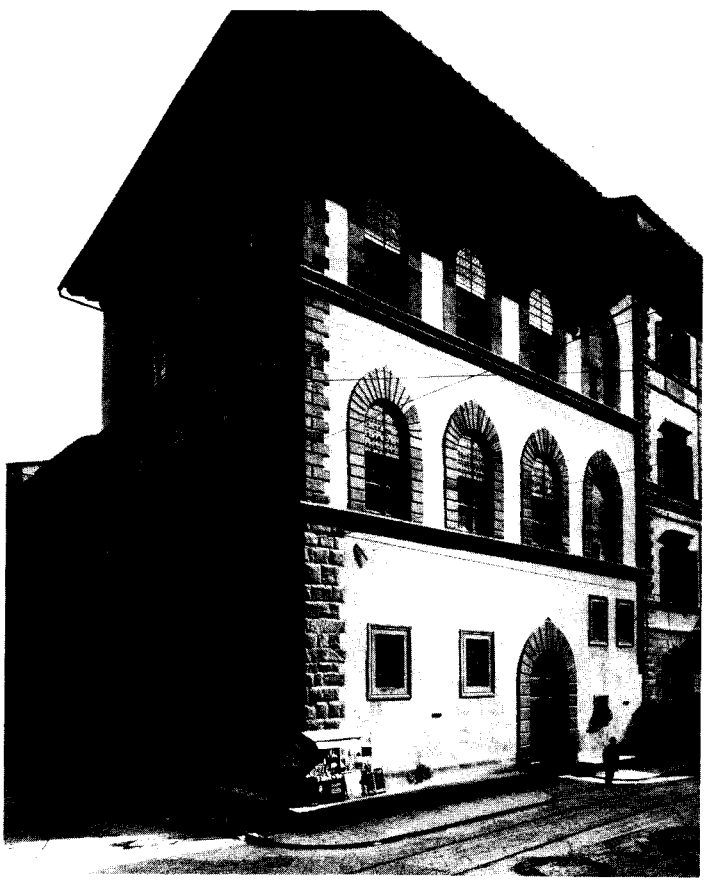


Fig. 6, above. Some idea of the scale of Florentine palaces can be had from this comparison of a ten-story modern building and two palaces, the Bartolini (left) (from Grandjean di Montigny and Famin), about the average size of Florentine palaces, and half the short side of the Strozzi (right) (after Stegmann and Geymüller), the largest of fifteenth-century palaces (cf. fig. 8). Rendering by Implementation, Baltimore.

Fig. 7, below. The Corsi palace, whose size is typical of Florentine palaces. Its façade, a combination of *intonico* and stone, represents one of the characteristic stylistic types. The palace has no more than a dozen rooms, but notice its size with respect to neighboring buildings. Photograph: Brogi-Alinari.



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century Palla di Palla Strozzi cleared out over a half dozen of these small houses *(casette, casolari)* to erect the palace known as the Strozzino; a generation later Filippo di Matteo Strozzi transformed several more into a small palace, and by the end of the century over a dozen different kinds of shops (along with three buildings identified as patrician residences, one complete with tower) were replaced by the great Strozzi palace.[17] Altogether, the building of these three palaces, not to mention a few others in the same square, removed considerable street activity from the vicinity and transformed it into a patrician residential center. A more notable instance is the via Maggio, which in the fourteenth century was one of the two principal centers of the flourishing wool business, the single most important industrial activity in the Florentine economy. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries it became lined with the great palaces that even today make it one of the most authentic Renaissance streets that survive in all Florence, and with their construction the bustling trade was removed from the area. One observer tells us that these palaces in the via Maggio displaced sixty wool shops, and by the mid-sixteenth century only five remained in the entire Oltrarno quarter.[18] The new palace style, therefore, not only detached the private residence from street activity but in some cases at least led to a removal of much of that activity from the vicinity, which thereby became more strictly residential. In a sense the Renaissance palace was a kind of coagulant that reduced the fluidity of medieval urban life with its continual interpenetration of the public and private spheres.

With this newly gained aloof presence on the Florentine scene the patrician residence moved into its own as the characteristic monument of private architecture; and if this was the consequence of the withdrawal of the family into a new realm of privacy, so the same social process of involution led to the obsolescence of those earlier patrician monuments that had formerly symbolized the family's active outward involvement in the public affairs of the commune—the tower and the loggia. The towers had for the most part disappeared by the fourteenth century primarily as a result of the emergence of a new concept of public authority and the government's deliberate policy of tearing them down in order to reduce the political and military might of the clan. On the other hand, the loggia, the public assembly point for the family, simply became outmoded as the family itself dissolved.[19] One sixteenth-century chronicler

[17] The property descriptions in the *catasto* declarations of Palla di Palla Strozzi (not Messer Palla di Nofri, as they are identified by Fabriczy) are published by Cornelius von Fabriczy, in "Michelozzo di Bartolomeo," *Jahrbuch der königlich preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 25 (1904), Beiheft, 102–04. Properties replaced by the palace of Filippo Strozzi are listed in Guido Pampaloni, *Palazzo Strozzi* (Rome, 1963), 44n.

[18] "Di poi insino aquesto anno 1520 invia maggio semurato molte chase bellissime ellevato via piu di sessanta botteghe dartte dilana ghrosse vi si faceva." Baldovinetti, "Memoriale," 543. For the distribution of wool shops in the mid-sixteenth century see Pietro Battara, "Botteghe e pigioni nella Firenze del '500: un censimento industriale e commerciale all'epoca del granducato mediceo, *Archivio storico italiano*, 95 (1937), pt. 2: 9.

[19] For general remarks on loggias, see Guido Carocci *et al., Il centro di Firenze: studi storici*

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implies that by his time the loggia was no longer being used;[20] and as far as we know only two of the new projects for palaces in the Renaissance included loggias. The corner of the Medici palace originally opened as a loggia—although the Medici, of course, are never the appropriate example of patrician practice in general; one could argue that their public prominence makes them the exception that proves the rule. Still, in the early sixteenth century even they enclosed their loggia. The other example is the loggia of the Rucellai across the street from the palace designed by Alberti. Built by the most prominent private builder in Renaissance Florence after Cosimo de' Medici, the Rucellai loggia was erected on the occasion of a marriage between the two families.[21] It is, however, perhaps the last loggia to have been constructed. When in the early sixteenth century Varchi drew up a list of surviving loggias there were only twenty-six names on it.[22] It can be ascertained that clearly a third of those had nothing to do with palace projects in the fifteenth century, and there is no evidence that it was otherwise with the rest. Loggias simply had no more function in the life of the patrician family, many of whom walled up these areas to use them for other purposes. In the later sixteenth century they were considered signs of ancient family nobility by some men who looked with nostalgia on these outmoded and disappearing family monuments of a past age. Hence, when a Frescobaldi heiress closed up her family's loggia in order to make space for four shops, she was accused of avarice and of putting utility before honor and respect for ancient tradition.[23] Sentiment, however, could not revive practicality. By the end of the century Borghini, commenting on the nobility of these family monuments, was able to discern only fourteen, and of these at least six had already been walled up or were in ruins.[24] Public assembly in the streets was obviously a thing of the past for the patrician family, just as it no longer had need for mass defensive action in its towers. The new symbol of its status was now the residence itself.

How do we explain why men felt the urge to build on such a grand scale? Perhaps it is obvious that, in part at least, the phenomenon can be explained as the desire for public display of private status; and if it

e ricordi artistici (Florence, 1900), 49–53; Marco Tabarrini, "Le consorterie nella storia fiorentina del medio evo," *La vita italiana nel Trecento* (Milan, 1904), 115–16; Attilo Schiaparelli, *La casa fiorentina e i suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1908), 67–72; and Patzak, *Palast und Villa in Toscana*, vol. 1, bk. 1:39.

[20] "Nelle loggie, che in questi tempi qualche poco ancor si frequentavano." Filippo Nerli, *Commentari dei fatti civili occorsi dentro la città di Firenze dall'anno 1215 al 1537* (Florence, 1859), 1: 62.

[21] Thiem, *Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration*, 69–70.

[22] *Storia fiorentina*, bk. 9, sec. 40.

[23] "Con molto biasimo d'avarizia d'una gentildonna di quella famiglia, anteponendo l'utile all'honore e al mantenimento della memoria di tanta antichità." Baccio Cecchi, "Memorie," ed. I. Del Badia, *Miscellanea fiorentina di erudizione e storia*, 1 (1902): 37.

[24] "Delle famiglie nobili fiorentini," ASF, MSS., no. 190, doc. 3.

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is not surprising from the point of view of our consumer-oriented society that rich men engaged in such conspicuous consumption, it is something strikingly new in the history of moral thought that now intellectuals broke out of the context of the medieval world and actually sought to justify such spending on moral grounds. In an earlier era extravagant spending was something writers warned against, either because it was improper in a Christian society inspired by Franciscan ideals and on its guard against excessive materialism or (perhaps more realistically in the competitive business community of Florence) because it simply was too dangerous to expose one to the jealousy and envy of other men. The anonymous fourteenth-century Florentine merchant who said that "spending a lot and making a big impression are in themselves too dangerous" offered the kind of advice that is typical of his age.[25] At the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, the humanists introduced a new civic ethic; they rejected traditional ideals of Franciscan poverty and worked out instead an explicit moral justification for private wealth.[26] Drawing heavily on Aristotle's ideas about magnificence and the good man, they praise wealth precisely because it gives man the wherewithal to express his status publicly. Leon Battista Alberti and Matteo Palmieri in their moral tracts could still counsel against extravagant expenditures and call for personal economy, although their arguments were slightly different from those of their medieval predecessors; but when it comes to building, an altogether new attitude is introduced. "The magnificence of the buildings," says Alberti, talking about houses, "should be adapted to the dignity of the owner."[27] And Palmieri warns that "he who would want . . . to build a house resembling the magnificent ones of noble citizens would deserve blame if first he has not reached or excelled their virtue."[28] "But since all agree," concludes Alberti, "that we should endeavor to leave a reputation behind us, not only for our wisdom but our power too, for this reason . . . we erect great structures, that our posterity may suppose us to have been great persons."[29]

Alberti was right; in Florence building did become a measure of a man's greatness. Giovanni Rucellai, one of the wealthiest merchants and most vigorous builders in mid-fifteenth-century Florence, was explicit on the point: "I think I have given myself more honor, and my soul more satisfaction, by having spent money than by having earned it, above all

[25] "Troppe male circhunstanzie à in sè il tenere grande stato e fare grande spese." Gino Corti, ed., "Consigli sulla mercatura di un anonimo trecentista," *Archivio storico italiano,* 111 (1952): 118. See also Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, eds., *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York, 1955), 423.

[26] Hans Baron, "Franciscan Poverty and Civic Wealth as Factors in the Rise of Humanistic Thought," *Speculum,* 13 (1938): 1–37.

[27] *Ten Books on Architecture,* trans. James Leoni (ed. Joseph Rykwert; London, 1955), bk. 9, ch. 1.

[28] "Chi sequitasse e valesse assimigliare le magnifiche case de' nobili cittadini, merita biasimo se prima non ha aggiunte o superate le sue virtù." *La vita civile* (Bologna, 1944), 164.

[29] *Ten Books on Architecture,* bk. 9, ch. 1.

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with regard to the building I have done."[30] Furthermore, what is it that Florentines talk about when they discuss the art patronage of their fellow citizens? Building, almost exclusively. For the adulators of Cosimo de' Medici his building projects were the best proof of the magnificence of the man; and commentators from Vespasiono to Machiavelli hardly mention anything else with respect to Medici patronage in general.[31] It is impossible to find any comment in the chronicles and histories of the period on men's patronage either of sculpture or of painting, the puny private arts; but when men built they made an impression on their fellows and on history, not only with the buildings themselves but in written commentary about them. Furthermore, despite popular myths it was the patron not the artist who made the impression. In his highly laudatory biography of his father, Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi puts particular emphasis on Filippo's building projects but never once bothers to mention an architect's name—not even that of Cronaca, the creator of the Strozzi palace, whom Lorenzo, a man of great learning and interest in the arts, knew well.[32] In fact, before Vasari there is hardly a contemporary attribution for any of these Florentine palaces, including the Medici and even the Pitti, which was immediately recognized as one of the great landmarks of the city. Palaces were seen not as creations of artists but as monuments to their builders' magnificence.

The personal splendor these palaces conferred on their builders was amplified by the hope that the structures were to be the monumental foundation of the dynasty that was to extend from the builders themselves. Filippo Strozzi was obsessed with the concern that his great monument be forever exclusively the residence of his family, and in his exceptionally lengthy testament he rambles on in tortuous detail to anticipate all contingencies in the line of his descent to make sure that it would always remain Strozzi property and would never be alienated.[33] Giovanni Rucellai was less verbose but just as insistent that his palace was always to belong to someone with the name Rucellai ("genie seu stirpe vel consorteria de oricellaris") and was never to be alienated or even rented. He was particularly adamant in his insistence that whatever happened the palace was under no circumstances to belong to any other Florentine family; in the case of the extinction of the Rucellai the building was to pass to the commune to be used (appropriately) as the residence of an ambassador of a foreign prince—provided that he not be

[30] *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo zibaldone,* vol. 1: *Il zibaldone quaresimale,* ed. Alessandro Perosa (London, 1960), 118.

[31] See A. D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 33 (1970): 162–70, and also Rab Hatfield, "Some Unknown Descriptions of the Medici Palace in 1459," *Art Bulletin,* 52 (1970): 240–41.

[32] *Vita di Filippo Strozzi il Vecchio scritta da Lorenzo suo figlio,* ed. Giuseppe Bini and Pietro Bigazzi (Florence, 1851).

[33] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 5, no. 1221.

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Florentine or of Florentine origin![34] By the sixteenth century a man could best satisfy dynastic ambitions by building a palace; as it was expressed by Michelangelo, who wanted perhaps nothing more from his spectacular career than to re-establish the fallen patrician status of his family in Florence, "a noble house in the city brings considerable honor, being more visible than all one's possessions, and because we are citizens descended from the noblest of lines."[35] Most of the great palaces built in the later sixteenth century were in fact built by those men whose status had been newly established by the grand dukes.

As Michelangelo observed, palaces gave visibility to the status of a family, and to leave no doubt of their identity they were endowed with sure signs of their ownership. Façades proudly bore the coats of arms of their owners; and in some the armorial bearings of the family and even the personal devices of their builders were worked into the very fabric of the structure as decorative motifs. The Pazzi dolphins, for example, constitute the principal element of the capitals and corbels of that family's palace; on the stairway of his, Giuliano Gondi put a modified form of his private insignia on the faces of each of the step ends;[36] and running all the way across the façade of the Rucellai palace are the sails of fortune that had such a personal symbolic importance for Giovanni, its builder.[37] Undoubtedly the most exaggerated case of palatial flouting of ownership is the Strozzi palace, where the Strozzi moons appear everywhere—in the spandrels of the windows, incised on virtually every piece of iron on the façade, worked into the interior corbels (along with falcons and sheep, the builder's own personal devices). Furthermore, a horoscope was cast for the Strozzi palace to determine the propitious moment to begin its construction; an elaborate ceremony celebrated the occasion and a medal was struck to commemorate it. And it may be that such rituals accompanied the construction of other palaces, endowing them with a kind of mystic personality that loomed behind the public symbols of their identity.

In a society of entrepreneurs, where personal magnificence and dynastic ambitions could find such conspicuous public expression, where the competitive instinct must have taken its own course once men started to build, how was the proud patrician to resist the challenge? An ambassador from Venice was impressed with the amounts of money being spent by the Florentines, who, he says, were building on the heels

[34] ASF, Notarile antecosimiano, L 130, no. 31. My thanks to Rab Hatfield for this reference. Cf. *Il zibaldone quaresimale,* 144.

[35] "Perchè una casa onorevole nella città fa onore assai, perchè si vede più che non fanno le possessioni, e perchè noi sian pure cittadini discesi di nobilissima stirpe," cited in Ugo Procacci, ed., *La casa Buonarroti a Firenze* (Florence, 1965), 6.

[36] See John Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum,* 1 (London, 1964): 183–87.

[37] Aby Warburg, "Le ultime voluntà di Francesco Sassetti," in *La rinascita del paganesimo antico* (Florence, 1966), 236.

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of one another at such a pace that some who had only 60 or 70 florins income in cash might spend as much as 6,000 or 7,000 florins or more for a palace in the countryside.[38] Although apparently he was talking about villas and his figures (and ratios) are exaggerated, he must have sensed something of the building craze Florence was experiencing at the time. The palace of the average patrician—to judge from the evidence of accounts and *ricordi*—had a book value of between 1,500 and 2,500 florins, which could have represented as much as fifty per cent of his total estate. The really big ones, of course, cost much more—Filippo Strozzi (and his heirs) paid almost 40,000 florins for what was probably the most expensive in the city (equal to over a thousand times the annual salary of a highly skilled workman),[39] and this represented over a third of his total wealth. The builders of some of the most famous of these palaces, however, were not so fortunate as to be rich enough, or secure enough, to afford the luxury of indulging in the new fad of trying to make an impression. For all his smug satisfaction, Giovanni Rucellai did not finish his palace, which after all was primarily no more than a façade. Giuliano Gondi made all Florence sit up and take notice of the new palace he started building in 1489, but he was not able to get it half built (and it stood unfinished until the nineteenth century). Bono Boni presumably finished his in the mid-1460s, but within a decade he was bankrupt and had to sell it.[40] And so with other builders, like Lorenzo de' Larione, who had to sell his on the heels of bankruptcy,[41] and Bartolomeo Barbadori, whose burden of debts forced him to halt construction.[42] It is surprising how many of these palaces changed hands within a generation of their construction; one suspects that in these cases the family fortune was simply not up to the drain of capital a palace required. Nevertheless, it is in this context of competitive, extravagant, and sometimes wreckless egotism that we can partly understand the scale on which these men built as well as their awakening consciousness of style.

The building of palaces appears all the more extravagant when one considers that the inflation of space they represented had a minimum economic value almost entirely limited to its importance for the household economy of the family. To be sure, the rooms on the ground floor might have included an office for the commercial and banking business of the owner, and to this extent he saved something in rent. Datini's

[38] *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, ed. Arnaldo Segarizzi (Bari, 1912–16), 3, pt. 1: 19.

[39] Obviously even approximate equivalents of the dollar and the florin cannot be made; but the cost of the Strozzi palace in relation to today's skilled worker's income of ten thousand dollars would be ten million dollars.

[40] Today Palazzo Antinori. Maddalena Trionfi Honorati, "Il palazzo degli Antinori," *Antichità viva*, 7 (1968), no. 2: 65–80 (based on unpublished research of Guido Pampaloni).

[41] Today Palazzo Canigiani, via de' Bardi, 28/30. Saalman, "The Authorship of the Pazzi Palace," 391n.

[42] Manetti, *The Life of Brunelleschi*, 99.

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office (but not his *fondaco*), for instance, was on the ground floor of his palace, as was the *scrittoio* of many other merchant bankers, to judge from surviving inventories. But if in addition to these financial interests a patrician had warehouses or shops that were used for industrial production, for the manufacture of silk or wool cloth—and most Florentine patricians probably had investments in such establishments—these were not located on residential premises; they were located elsewhere and sometimes the owner even paid rent for the shop rather than turn over a part of his home for its operation. Furthermore, it was not likely that any space in these palaces was rented out. The earliest of them still had shops that opened onto the street for commercial use, but as palace style evolved these were excluded. To judge from a comment of Lorenzo Strozzi's such an arrangement was considered a blight on the beauty of the building as well as an inconvenience for the owner.[43] Moreover, no interior space was rented as living quarters, and we have no evidence that these palaces were used then as most are used today, as apartment houses. As a matter of fact, in those cases where the entire palace was later rented out, usually as a result of difficulties among heirs or the absence from Florence of the owner, the income was so small that it would have been an insignificant return on the total capital outlay represented by the building. In the 1490s the Antinori (then Martelli) palace was rented for between eighty and a hundred ducats a year;[44] in the middle of the following century half the Strozzi palace (it was built as two residences) was offered for rent at forty-five florins;[45] and a few years later the Corbinelli rented one of their palaces in the via Maggio to Bianca Cappello for fifty florins.[46] At a time when eight per cent was a normal return on an investment these rents would have represented a capital investment of 500 to 1,000 florins, hardly anything like the building costs of such structures.

This extraordinarily low rental potential meant that the market value of a palace was a very nebulous matter. At the end of the sixteenth century, for example, when the Pazzi palace was sold to Lorenzo di Carlo Strozzi, the price was no easy thing to determine. Several consultants were called in. One based his calculation on the capitalization of its net rental value of 180 *scudi* (after taxes and maintenance expenses) at three per cent. Three per cent was a very low return on an investment for a Florentine, even in the late sixteenth century, and it was obviously used

[43] "Disegnando di fare sotto la casa molte botteghe per entrate dei suoi figliuoli: il che arditamente gli era contradetto, mostrando di quanta bruttezza, servità e incommodo saria alli abitatori." *Vita di Filippo Strozzi*, 25.

[44] Owned then by Carlo d'Ugolino Martelli. ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 5, no. 1468 (accounts and *ricordi* of Luigi d'Ugolino Martelli, 1489–92), fol. 108r; no. 1469 (accounts of Luigi d'Ugolino Martelli, 1492–93), fol. 11.

[45] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 5, no. 136 (accounts and *ricordanze* of Palla di Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi, 1552–55), fols. 204r–208v.

[46] *Illustratore fiorentina, calendario storico*, 1906, ed. G. Carocci, 27–29.

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to push the value as high as possible; yet the resulting figure of 6,000 *scudi* was so ridiculous that the assessors, "considering the nobility of the site and its beauty as well as other things," arbitrarily increased it by one-third to 8,000 *scudi*. On the other hand, a detailed builder's estimate of replacement costs drawn up for the same purpose put a value of 11,900 *scudi* on the structure, a remarkable sum considering the fact that inflated labor costs in the second half of the sixteenth century probably meant that the building could not have been built for even that figure.[47] In 1659 the Medici palace was sold to the Riccardi for 40,000 ducats, about the same price it had cost to build two centuries earlier, but as a result of inflation the sale price represented only half the value of the original building cost. Moreover, the Riccardi spent close to three times again that amount (116,623 ducats) to enlarge it to its present size.[48] Not only was the rental value of a palace very low, but its resale value was hardly equal to its cost. The enormous structures, in short, were utterly nonproductive as investments.

Although these palaces are to be seen as one of the most flagrant examples of conspicuous consumption by the bourgeoisie that Europe had known up to that time, the intellectuals, the so-called civic humanists, were nevertheless able to find a higher social justification for all this private energy. Above selfish interests there was the common good, and the purely selfish objective could be justified by regarding the total effect such generous and magnificent expenditures had for the embellishment of the city as a whole. It was Palmieri's view that "although made by individuals it is nonetheless better to treat [such buildings] as communal utilities rather than as private comforts, because they are very important for the universal ornament of the city and they compose the beauty of the city."[49] One could say that this is nothing but the medieval virtue of largesse now given a purely esthetic outlet. Most palaces were self-contained projects, but at least a few were planned more dramatically, in a setting that reached out beyond the buildings themselves to reorganize the immediate vicinity. For instance, we know now that there

[47] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 3, no. 177 ("Scritture spettanti alla compera del Palazzo de' Pazzi, fatta dal sig. Lorenzo Strozzi"), fols. 78, 102r–103r, 112r–13v, 117r–18r, 152. The statement that because of "la nobiltà del sito et belezza che è et ancora altre cose lo stimi più scudi 2000, che tutti fanno scudi 8000," is found alone at the top of fol. 119r; and considering its location, the hand, and the way these documents are bound together, I have linked it with fols. 102r–103r, where the assessment made on the basis of the rental value of the property occurs.

[48] Frank Büttner, "Der Umbau des Palazzo Medici-Riccardi zu Florenz," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 14 (1970): 394–95.

[49] "Questo sarebbe posta in narrare del commodo e ornamento dello splendido vivere, dove si comprende le case magnifiche, gli edificii in publico fatti, le masserizie abondanti, i famigli, cavalli, e altre cose che più tosto per bellezza di vita che per nostro bisogno s'appetiscono, cercano e tengono. Tali cose benchè da particulari sieno fatte, nientedimeno perchè sono atissime all'universale ornamento della città e fanno la bellezza civile, della quale seguita grandezza, stima et utile civile, più tosto si convengono trattare infra l'utilità commune, che infra i privati commodi, faremo dunque fine a' privati commodi, e diremo di quegli essere a bastanza detto, e per l'avenire diremo dell'ultilità communi, cioè di quelle che all'universale corpo della città e tutta la republica s'appartengono." *Della vita civile*, 154.

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were plans for a large square next to the Medici palace on which Brunelleschi's church of San Lorenzo also would have opened.[50] Similarly Filippo Strozzi's plans to build his huge palace included widening the street, opening a piazza, and possibly incorporating the façade of a nearby church in which he had already shown considerable interest. At any rate (if we are to believe his son) Strozzi was able to plan for such an impressive structure in the first place only by playing up to Lorenzo de' Medici's expressed desire to have the city adorned with such beautiful and magnificent buildings.[51] The great Pitti palace, now expanded almost beyond recognition of its original appearance, was deliberately perched on high ground with a piazza to set it off; and the success of this plan is evident in all the early views of the city, where it indeed appears "more resplendent even than Monte Morello," to quote a contemporary bit of poetry on the subject.[52]

Our knowledge of these few projects, however, is vague; and they were at any rate the exceptions. Most palaces were inserted into the medieval city freed from the earlier communal controls for orderly town planning and without the opening up of vast public spaces characteristic of later urbanistic ideals. The beauty of the urban scene in Renaissance Florence was not (and still is not) found in large squares and public spaces, and certainly not in unitary schemes imposed on the city by either communal or princely authority, but in the collective impression of numerous self-contained private efforts.[53] That impression, however, is not without its own internal coherence. The new palace style did not represent, as has been claimed, "an esthetic of maximum individuality" (which could perhaps be more appropriately said of a modern American city).[54] Indeed, architectural historians have always been impressed with what they call a strong conservatism in Florentine palace style, a point that is especially telling in considering the utter failure of the most original of them all, Alberti's palace for Giovanni Rucellai, to find any imitators; or the failure of Brunelleschi's for Cosimo de' Medici to get built at all; or the discrepancy between the fantasy of architectural settings in painting and the reality of the city's streets. This conservative taste—albeit with considerable variety within the bounds of its canons—may in fact have been a subconsciously imposed upper limit to the competitive egotism that these palaces represent, so that despite the lack of urbanistic schemes a peculiar stylistic unity emerged, however fortuitously, from all this private and unregulated activity.

[50] Carol Herselle Krinsky, "A View of the Palazzo Medici and the Church of San Lorenzo," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 28 (1969): 133–35. For an unrealized early sixteenth-century project for a square, see Alessandro Parronchi, "Due note," *Rinascimento,* 8 (1968): 358–59.

[51] Lorenzo Strozzi, *Vita di Filippo Strozzi,* 22–28.

[52] "Di Luca Pitti o visto la muraglia che sfavillava più che mongibello"; see Emilio Pasquini, "Il codice di Filippo Scarlatti," *Studi di filologia italiana,* 22 (1964): 429.

[53] In this respect the comments of Francastel ("Imagination et réalité") are very suggestive.

[54] J. S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (New York, 1961), 76.

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At any rate, Florence (after Venice) may well have been the first city in Europe where the individual private residence comes into its own as the distinctive feature of the urban scene, although palaces elsewhere in Italy have been so much less studied than those of Florence that any generalization on the subject is difficult to make. Here a distinction must be made between private bourgeois residences and those of princes and courtiers, of popes and prelates. Venice, of course, had an even older tradition of spectacular palace building, but the palace there definitely served both a commercial function and a rather more extensive social one as the residence of a larger family group (the *fraterna*). On the other hand, fifteen-century Genova, another city with a wealthy mercantile aristocracy, was still very medieval in its appearance; and the elevation of domestic architecture there to a notable art form does not get underway until well into the sixteenth century.[55] At any rate, the public display of private residences is certainly not to be found in the great cities of Northern Europe at the time—not in aristocratic Paris, where throughout the entire Renaissance into the seventeenth century the town house fails to make the public appearance it does in bourgeois Florence in the fifteenth century,[56] and certainly not in contemporary London, where street frontages of great houses were rented out as tenements.[57]

JUST AS THE FAÇADE of the palace as a public monument embodies the public and civic implications of a new individualistic morality, so the living arrangements behind the façade reflect the changed social conditions underlying that new morality—the withdrawal of the family into a world of privacy. It has been observed that inside a Florentine Renaissance palace the windows are so high that simply to look out from within one has to climb up steps in the window bays to peer over the high sills; such was the exclusion of the outside world. What kind of family was it, then, that enjoyed this privacy? The rationale for building the palaces in the first place was partly at least a desire to express the nobility of the individual patrician, to give vent to his proud ego in a public monument; but when he withdrew within, it was to enjoy its privacy with his family. That is to say, as a residence the palace housed primarily the owner's immediate family—his wife, his children, perhaps a stray unattached relative here and there, a widowed mother, for example

[55] Ennio Poleggi, *Strada nuova: una lottizzazione del Cinquecento a Genova* (Genova, 1968), ch. 1; Jacques Heers, *Gênes au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1961), 197.

[56] "Nous sommes bien loin de la masse imposante du palais italien en quadrilatère, ilôt seigneurial qui s'impose du public par la majesté de son architecture externe." Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Demeures parisiennes sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris, 1965), 120. On domestic architecture in late medieval Paris see Simone Roux, "L'Habitat urbain au Moyen Age: le quartier de l'Université à Paris," *Annales: E.S.C.*, 24 (1969): 1198–1219.

[57] C. L. Kingsford, "On Some London Houses of the Early Tudor Period," *Archaeologia*, 71 (1921): 17–54; Kingsford, "A London Merchant's House and Its Owners, 1360–1614," *ibid.*, 74 (1925): 137–58.

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—and, originally at least, it was certainly not the residence of the larger extended family or clan. Even in those cases where the palace was built by a father for his sons, or by brothers, the building was distinctly divided into the appropriate number of parts, usually with separate entrances at the street level.[58] The privacy of a man's home meant not only withdrawal from public life but also detachment from most relatives who were not members of his immediate family.

That these palaces were built primarily for smaller family groups emerges from the history of their occupancy and ownership through the generations immediately following that of their builders. Here much can be learned from the history of private wealth, especially from the settlement of estates and the disposition of palaces at each juncture as they passed to successive generations. Since at least as early as the mid-fourteenth century it was usually the case in Florence after the death of a father that estates were eventually divided among his sons. It did not always happen immediately—indeed, legally it could not be done until the youngest son came of age—but one senses that the division could not be put off for long. Anyone who has read through the numerous testimony of private books of accounts and *ricordanze* is familiar with this process of disintegration of patrimonial wealth with each successive generation, a process that resulted in what one might call the individualization of wealth in contrast to what seems to have been the corporate nature of patrician fortunes of an earlier era. The phenomenon is obviously related to the dissolution of the *consorteria* and the emergence of the conjugal family with its own private wealth distinct from that of even the closest of relatives. It goes without saying that such division of estates could create financial problems even for the heirs of rich men. Gino di Neri Capponi, for instance, advised his sons to put off the division at least until their financial condition would permit;[59] but his very concern reveals a basic fact of patrician society: the old economic bonds were broken and it could not be taken for granted that patrimonies could be shared by larger family groups.[60]

Periodic division so characterized the history of family fortunes that one feels that by the fifteenth century individual private wealth had become an essential condition of a man's happiness and that to preserve peace in the family it was probably even necessary eventually to divide

[58] The Strozzi and Busini palaces were designed as two separate residences. Palaces with two separate entrances include the Corsi (via Maggio, 50/52), the Velluti-Martellini (via Maggio, 9), the Rustici (via de' Rustici) and the Machiavelli (via S. Spirito, 5/7); the Strozzino has three (and within there were three separate households. See Uffizi drawing 1561A, reproduced in Pampaloni, *Palazzo Strozzi*, 57).

[59] "Da soffrire è lo stare insieme un pezzo, tanto che abbiate il modo a dividervi con unità, a che abbiate migliorato condizione." *Rerum italicarum scriptores,* ed. Lodovico Antonio Muratori (Milan, 1723–51), 28, col. 1150. The same concern is found in the testament of Francesco Sassetti. Warburg, "Le ultime voluntà," 226–30.

[60] For elaboration of this thesis, see Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence: A Study of Four Families* (Princeton, 1968).

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a patrimony among brothers so each could have his own estate. We have at least one explicit expression of such a sentiment in the *ricordanze* of Ugolino di Niccolò Martelli, an important partner in the Medici business enterprises.[61] He and his eight brothers made no division of their patrimony after their father's death in 1425, partly because several of them were still minors, partly because some of them were living abroad; but with time the pressures mounted. In 1440, probably because the youngest, Alessandro (b. 1417), had recently come of age, two of the brothers, Francesco and Messer Domenico, took their shares of the patrimony and went their own way; and five years later another, Giovanni, did the same. In 1451 the remaining six divided into two groups—Ugolino, Bartolomeo, and Martello on one hand; Antonio, Roberto, and Alessandro on the other—and made a property settlement, "which division," wrote Ugolino, "was prompted by Antonio and us in order not to be disunited and . . . to conserve us in peace."[62] They divided virtually everything (except certain military gear, which was to be available to any brother who might take public office) down to the sheets and kitchen utensils, and the inventories were written up in the presence of their mother. "We remain content with this," continues Ugolino after having made a complete copy of the inventories; "I first sought every opportune remedy in order not to make this division so that no harm should come to our family universally in all things, but for peace and unity among us we made it."[63] For their part, Ugolino and Bartolomeo kept their property in common—in 1451 Martello was away in Brittany, and in 1455 he made a final settlement with them—and in 1457 the two were living together with their large families.[64] Yet by the time Ugolino died in 1484 he had a completely private estate, no part of which was shared with any of his brothers; and hardly a year passed before his estate in turn was completely divided among his surviving sons.[65] As Ugolino clearly recognized, the family could stay together only as long as they did not have to share together, as long as each member had his private wealth and was free to go his own way.

This development in the history of the family obviously has profound implications for the history of the home. With the inevitable division of estates as they passed from one generation to the next and the forma-

[61] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 5, no. 1461 (*ricordanze* of Ugolino di Niccolò Martelli, 1432–82). References to the property divisions discussed below are fols. 26v–30r, 83r, 65r–70r, 71r.

[62] "La quale divisa fu mossa d'Antonio e noi per non istare disuniti e a presso perchè eravamo multiplichati in famiglie e per chonservarci con buona pace." *Ibid.*, fol. 65r.

[63] "E noi rimanemo chontenti. Ciercho prima ongni oportuno rimedio di non dividere perchè ne seghuitava danno della chasa universalmente in ciaschuna chosa, ma per la pace e unità di noi lo faciemo." *Ibid.*, fol. 69r.

[64] ASF, Catasto, no. 823 (Leon d'oro, 1457), doc. 181 (declaration of Ugolino and Bartolomeo).

[65] Ugolino left six sons. One of these, Carlo, had already received his share of the patrimony before his father's death; references to the subsequent division among the other five are found in their books of accounts and *ricordi:* ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 5, no. 1467 (Messer Ludovico), fol. 89v; no. 1466 (Carlo), fols. 123r, 127v, 128r; no. 1463 (Luigi), fol. 114r.

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tion of completely private wealth for the individual patrician, he tended to establish his own living arrangements by withdrawing with his immediate family into a private household. It was not altogether unusual for married sons to live with their father, even when they had their own families; but as soon as the father died, they more often than not sought their own homes. The history of the occupancy and ownership of palaces reveals what seems to be their natural tendency to remain single household dwellings.

In the division of estates, therefore, a family palace could present very special problems. At the same time that there was a tendency for heirs to divide all wealth and to establish independent living arrangements there were pressures to maintain the family residence as a prestigious property that rightfully should belong to them all. It was in fact not infrequent that a testator declared his palace indivisible ("per non diviso") and inalienable. In cases where such strictures were observed the palace could remain the shared property of heirs even beyond one generation, and ownership could thus be fractured into a number of shares. In this way after a couple of generations a palace could become hopelessly divided and would have to be sold. When in 1311 the Strozzi bought two $\frac{1}{18}$, two $\frac{1}{36}$, and one $\frac{1}{6}$ shares of the same house, each segment was acquired from a different member of the Mazzinghi family; and in 1326 the Strozzi bought another $\frac{1}{4}$ share.[66] In the mid-fourteenth century the Medici bought first nine and then eleven of the twenty parts of a house on the via Larga;[67] when the Busini palace was sold in 1473 (to another branch of the family) it involved four transactions for purchase of two $\frac{1}{8}$, one $\frac{1}{4}$, and one $\frac{1}{2}$ shares;[68] and when the Medici bought the Pitti palace in 1550 the sellers consisted of seven parties representing thirteen individuals.[69]

It is certainly not at all clear that in these cases of multiple ownership the palace actually became the residence of all the owners; but in the fifteenth century when ownership of a palace was divided it could very well mean that if the owners intended to make their residence there, the palace would be physically divided into separate homes. Entries in the *ricordanze* to this effect are not infrequent: there are descriptions of the division and sometimes lists of the resulting remodeling expenses, so there is no doubt about actual physical division.[70] In 1476 Jacopo and

[66] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 3, no. 191, fols. 4r–5v (seventeenth-century copy of records of purchase); cf. p. 980 above.

[67] ASF, Medici avanti il principato, no. 152 (*ricordi* of Foligno di Conte d'Averardo de' Medici), fols. 40v–41r.

[68] ASF, Catasto, no. 1005 (Leon nero, 1480), fols. 67–68; this today is the Bardi palace in via de' Benci.

[69] Francesca Morandini, "Palazzo Pitti, la sua costruzione e i successivi ingrandimenti," *Commentari*, 16 (1965), no. 1–2: p. 44 n. 2 (where purchase document is published).

[70] For example, in 1459 Bernardo Rinieri and his cousin Luca made a notarized division of their house in via del Cocomero (today via de' Ricasoli), with the former getting three-fourths of it and the obligation to build a dividing wall; ASF, Conv. sopp., 95, no. 212 (accounts and

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Priore di Messer Giannozzo Pandolfini, who had been left without residences after the division of the estate of their very wealthy father (who had died in 1456), bought a large house; but in the presence of a notary they made an agreement by which they very carefully divided it into two separate parts, splitting the entrances, stairways, stables, and two *necessarî*, building a dividing wall and adding a second well, so that each half would be a completely separate residence.[71] Likewise in 1522 Cristofano di Bernardo Rinieri made an entry in his book of *ricordanze* of how he and his nephew divided their palace at a cost of 410 florins, and he included all the detailed instructions given to the builders about how new walls were to be built to allow each residence complete separation from the other, even without a means of direct communication between the two.[72] Yet to judge from other entries in the same source Rinieri and his nephew were on the best of terms; they simply wanted private households. In 1516 two grandsons of Pierfrancesco de' Medici, Giovanni di Giovanni and Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo, divided a palace by lot after engaging two builders to make the division and estimate remodeling costs. The entrance way went entirely to one part and so did the garden; remodeling expenses included walling up doorways, dividing a large room on the piano nobile, and enclosing one side of the courtyard so that each part was completely sealed off from the other.[73] When this kind of division occurred each part of the palace was henceforth considered a separate property. Hence the Del Pugliese palace in the sixteenth century was actually owned by two different families;[74] and likewise in the seventeenth century the great medieval palace of the Spini, which had long been broken into apartments, was divided between

ricordi of Bernardo di Stoldo di Luca di Piero Rinieri, 1457–1503), fol. 155r ("Giudichomi detti entrata della via del Chochomero e una cortte con 1° pozo e 1° necessario era alla mia chamera terrena andassi in quel modo sino al tetto, e io avessi a fare il muro della trameza di 1/2 braccio"). Buonaccorso Chelli (or Serchelli) likewise described the work done in his house in via Maggio when he and his brother Piero divided it in 1479 ("ognuno di noi ispendemo in chasa per istare ognuno di per sè. Faciemo cierti achoncini in chase chome si vede"). ASF, Montalve di Ripoli, S. Piero a Monticelli, no. 185 (accounts and *ricordi* of Buonaccorso di Leonardo di Piero Serchelli, 1476–1507), fol. 12r.

71 Ospedale degli Innocenti (Florence), 149, no. 648 (accounts and *ricordi* of Jacopo di Messer Giannozzo d'Agnolo Pandolfini, 1467–87), fols. 166r–68r. This house, purchased from Francesco Sassetti for 2,500 florins, was on the via del Proconsolo, across the street from the Pazzi palace.

72 "Richordo chome questo dì viiii di maggio 1522 noi Andrea di Francesco Rinieri mio nipote e io Christofano di Bernardo Rinieri abiamo fatto insieme chompromesso per dividere la chasa di Firenze che al presente abitiamo a chomune; e detto Andrea à chiamato Bernardo Pistochi muratore e io ò chiamato Antonio Pilacchi muratore, i quali ànno a fare 2 parti di detta chasa e ànno tempo tutto dì 24 del presente mese, le quale due parti ànno a paregiare, e quella valessi meno ànno a rifare chon danaro; e quando aranno fatto dette parti se sareno d'achordo a pigliare quello arà a rifare denari; ne à avere tempo mesi xviii prossimi futuri allora paghando ongni mesi 6 la terza parte insino al'intero paghamento"; the detailed instructions follow. The house was in via de' Ricasoli. ASF, Conv. sopp., 95, no. 220 (*ricordanze* of Christofano di Bernardo Rinieri, 1496–1553), fols. 31v–33v. Cf. n. 70 above.

73 ASF, Medici avanti il Principato, no. 86, doc. 138 (a copy of the builders' report). An inventory of the contents of this palace also survives. *Ibid.*, no. 104, doc. 19 (in the archival inventory the two parties, Giovanni and Pierfrancesco, are incorrectly identified as brothers).

74 *Illustratore fiorentino; calendario storico,* 1907, pp. 9–12.

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two families (and one-half of it was further divided into three separate residences).[75]

The fact is, however, that most palaces were probably not actually subdivided either legally or physically with the passing of the generations. In Siena a great palace like that of the Tolomei remained the shared property of all members of the vast clan right up through the eighteenth century; by the thirteenth century there already were as many as 120 shares.[76] In Florence ownership was less diffuse. A man's grown and married sons might live with him in his palace, which according to his testament was to remain the common property of them all, but following his death, and sometime after the legal settlement of the estate, the usual arrangement was a private agreement that turned the palace over to only one of the sons and required the others to move out and find homes of their own. When Ilarione and Andrea di Lippaccio de' Bardi divided their patrimony in 1430, they should have excepted the sizable palace if they were to honor their father's instruction. They thought about dividing it into two households, but they found it could not be done conveniently without ruining the entire structure, despite the fact that during the immediately preceding period when they were living in it together they had spent over 800 florins for improvements; and so it passed to Ilarione alone.[77] When Ugolino di Niccolò Martelli died in 1484 his patrimony was divided immediately, and this included partition of two palaces among six sons. The family palace in the via Martelli was to be shared by five of them, but within a few months Cosimo and Luigi had bought out the shares of the other three, and by 1487 Luigi bought Cosimo's half and thus came into possession of the entire palace.[78] Meanwhile the other palace (today the Antinori palace), which Ugolino had acquired for his sons, was likewise bought up by Carlo alone.[79] Perhaps the best example of the businesslike way in

[75] Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, MSS Tordi, no. 523 ("Quaderno della muraglia che io Geri Spini farò nelle mie tre case del palazzo delli Spini per ridurle a una per mio uso," 1606–14; Spini possessed one-half of the palace). There are some miscellaneous papers attached to this document that trace the occupancy and ownership of the palace; see also Luigi Passerini, "Il palazzo Spini," in his *Curiosità storico-artistiche fiorentine* (Florence, 1866–75), 2: 63–89.

[76] G. Prunai, G. Pampaloni, and Nello Bemporad, *Il palazzo Tolomei a Siena* (Florence, 1971), 81–84.

[77] "Anchora veduto e rintrovato che il detto Andrea e Ilarione tenevano e posedevano chomunemente e per non diviso uno palagio grande chon due orti nel quale amendue abitavano . . . e perchè il detto palagio non si poterà comodamente dividere che non si ghuastasse però ongni parte del detto palagio a vero overo à nel detto palagio è tutto e intero, il detto palagio al detto Ilarione agiudichiano e a esso Ilarione diciemiamo apartenersi per piena ragione di dominio e proprietà, avere tenere e possedere e ciò che al detto Ilarione e alle sue rede da quinci innanzi piacierà perpetualmente di fare." Today Palazzo Canigiani, via de' Bardi, 28/30. The palace had been bought in 1414 for 2,200 florins; when the division of the patrimony was made it had a value of Fl. 3,039 3*s*. 3*d*. ASF, Conv. sopp., 79, no. 119 (accounts and *ricordi* of Ilarione di Lippaccio de' Bardi, 1420–31), fols. 255v–57v, 172. Cf. above, p. 993.

[78] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 5, no. 1463 (accounts and *ricordi* of Luigi d'Ugolino Martelli, 1484–88), fols. 12, 114r, 119v–120r, 122r, 125v–126r. The palace, which had a value of 2,000 florins *di suggello,* was in via Martelli; cf. above, p. 999.

[79] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 5, no. 1466 (accounts and *ricordi* of Carlo d'Ugolino Martelli,

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which brothers could settle the problem of commonly owned palaces is the case of the five sons of Antonio di Leonardo Gondi. They lived together for twenty years after his death in 1486 until the youngest reached his majority in 1506 and the patrimony was finally divided. When it came to the palace the brothers drew up a written agreement by which they recognized that the house would remain in the possession of two of them while the other three were to move out; and since obviously the three could not move out immediately further arrangements were made and again there was a written agreement, according to which the three were to share expenses at specified rates and pay rent until such time as they could find new quarters. Within only a few months, however, all three had left, while Antonio, one of the two remaining brothers, took up what was to become a permanent residence in France. The family palace therefore remained in effect the single family dwelling of Alessandro. Finally there is the case of the five Guicciardini brothers, who shared ownership if not residence of their father's palace for about eleven years after his death; but when Girolamo married in 1524 it was, significantly, one of the stipulations of his bride that he have the palace for himself alone. Thus came the inevitable settlement, and the other brothers had to find homes of their own.[80]

The Florentine palace, then, was more often than not a residence of a single conjugal family. Despite the desires of testators to save the family residence from the inevitable division of their estates among sons, it usually ended up as the property—and the residence—of only one man; and by the sixteenth century, in some cases at least (the great Pandolfini palace, for example),[81] primogeniture became an explicitly recognized principle of inheritance of palaces. Hence the enlargement of the private family dwelling that these palaces mark in the history of domestic architecture was not a consequence of family growth. On the contrary, as we have already seen, the enlargement of the private family dwelling occurred precisely at a time when the communal clan had lost much of its cohesive force and the family was reduced to its minimum size. Perhaps we can say that the enlarged private dwelling was an ironic consequence of the dissolution of the family clan, inasmuch as that dissolution of the larger social group released the forces of individualism that led to such spectacular palace building. Likewise, the abandonment of the loggia, long the public symbol of the sociability of the clan, is an aspect of the phenomenon of the social fragmentation of the family. In short, the peculiar development of palace architecture in Renaissance

1490–94), fol. 127v; also *ibid.*, no. 1468 (accounts and *ricordi* of Luigi d'Ugolino Martelli, 1489–92), fols. 102v, 108r. Cf. above, p. 999. The palace had a value of between 3,500 and 4,000 florins.

[80] Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth*, 132, 157, 167.

[81] ASF, Carte strozziane, scr. 2, no. 116, doc. 2 (copy of act of donation of the palace by Giannozzo to his nephew Pandolfo d'Agnolo, 1520).

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Florence reflects a fundamental transformation at the very base of Florentine society. Alberti, with all his nostalgia for a former style of family life (which he probably in fact never really experienced), sensed that something very profound and ultimately inexplicable was happening in Florentine society: "To make two families out of one requires double expense, and many things happen that it is easier to judge of by experience than by talk, easier to feel than to explain. Indeed, I am not pleased with this dividing of families, this going in and out of separate entrances."[82]

THE PALACE REPRESENTED a new world of privacy, and it was the privacy of a relatively small group. Further evidence for this proposition—and at the same time the best indication we have of the kind of private world that the Florentine patrician created for himself—comes from a closer inspection of the general disposition of space within the palace. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the use of that space is the small part of the total cubic area incorporated in these vast structures that was available for actual residential use. If from the outside these palaces appear to spread over a vast area it must be remembered that inside an appreciable part of that area—perhaps a fourth, sometimes a third—was actually left open. The center of the palace and of life within it was the enlarged square or rectangular courtyard with open arcades on the ground level and usually an open loggia on the third, or top, level. As to their elevation, as high, as has been said, as a six- or seven-story modern office building, we again find the exterior appearance deceptive. For the most part there were actually only three floors, and of these the lower had little living space while a good part of the upper opened as a loggia facing onto the courtyard. Consequently the inhabited apartment consisted of not much more than a dozen or so rooms—if indeed even that many—mostly on the middle floor. This basic plan remains essentially the same regardless of the size of the overall structure, so that the largest palaces simply had larger rooms, not more of them. In other words, despite the massive block these buildings appear to be from the outside, there was not a correspondingly large residential space within at the disposition of the family. These palaces are indeed impressive for their sheer size if for nothing else, but they loom even larger when one realizes how deceptive their appearance is in disguising the relatively small internal area that was actually inhabitable. They were obviously designed to give a small family an extraordinarily spacious, private world of its own that extended well beyond their actual living chambers. The most innovative feature of the palace, in short, is perhaps best described

[82] *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, a translation of *Della famiglia* by Renée Watkins (Columbia, S.C., 1969), 86.

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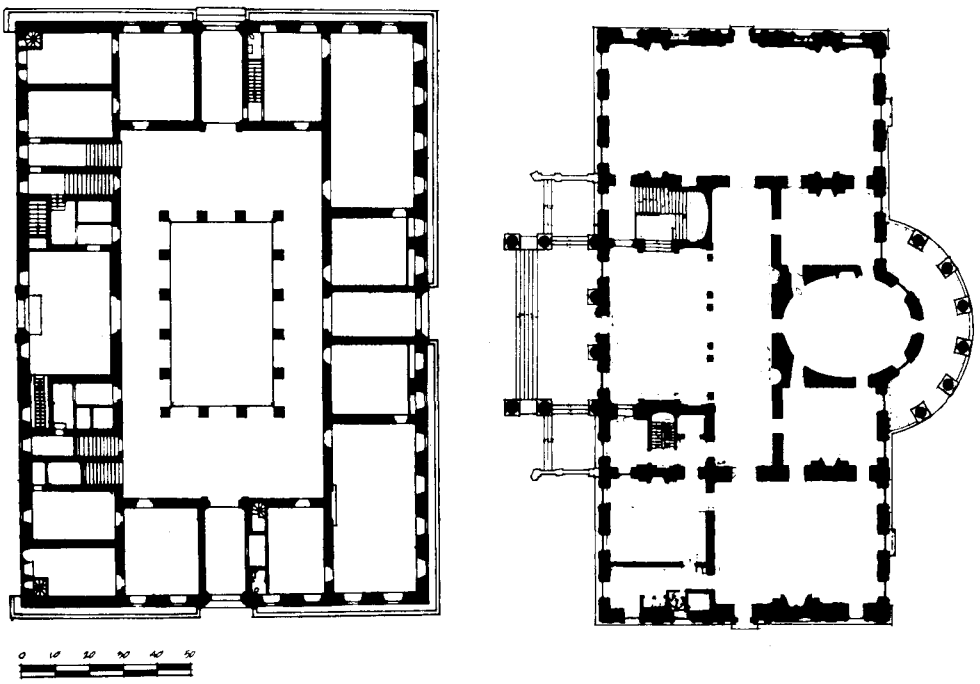


Fig. 8. The ground area of the Strozzi palace (left) (from Stegmann and Geymüller) is almost fifty per cent larger than that of the White House (right). The Strozzi palace is also almost twice as high (see fig. 6), but it has only three floors to the White House's four. The upper floors of the White House, with the president's private quarters, contain several dozen rooms laid out to the even smaller scale of twentieth-century living. Although the Strozzi palace is exceptional in being the largest palace to have been built in the fifteenth century and in having been designed for the two families of brothers, it illustrates clearly that a dramatic increase in scale did not change the basic plan for a palace. The number of rooms did not increase, but their size did—perhaps the clearest evidence we have that the function of these buildings was not to accommodate a highly complex patrician style of life. Rendering by Implementation, Baltimore.

as the luxurious inflation of private space around the nucleus of a relatively modest-sized apartment.

It is difficult to penetrate much further into the privacy of these palaces to determine the deeper social implications of living arrangements within. We simply lack the kinds of documentation that would lead us directly into the subject. Florence of course is exceptional for the survival of a remarkable quantity of personal diaries and letters, chronicles and histories, and imaginative and thoughtful literature written by her citizens from the fourteenth century onward; but personal household arrangements and the intimate relations of members of a family were not the subjects that Florentines very often wrote about. In all the vast literature we find only random remarks here and there that at best bear indirectly on the subject of the disposition of space within a palace. There are, for example, numerous contemporary descriptions of the Medici palace in the fifteenth century, but most of them are literary ventures occasioned by great quasi-public ceremonies and none men-

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tions actual domestic arrangements in the Medici home.[83] Likewise Alberti's famous treatise, where there is much about domestic economy and familial affections, has little to say about practical household management that is relevant to understanding the internal organization of a palace.

Even the authors of the theoretical architectural literature on houses seem to have little sense of the physical arrangements and internal functions of a palace. In the great treatises by Alberti and Filarete, both Florentines of the fifteenth century, despite considerable interest in the higher social functions of buildings and the city as a whole, there is nothing about how the architect is to lay out the private palace for actual living other than very general advice on kitchens, stables, plumbing, storage, and so forth.[84] When it comes to arrangement of living quarters there is virtually nothing, and it is almost impossible to uncover the underlying assumptions of these theorists about the kind of life the family was to have within. In this respect, incidentally, their relatively slight interest in the private patrician palace may be related to the fact that although they were both born in Florence, they lived most of their lives away from the city, so that they really did not have Florence in mind when they wrote. When Alberti writes, for example, that the townhouse should have a chapel and that more attention should be given to the merchant's shops than to the beauty of the interior of his house, one can rightfully wonder whether Alberti was thinking about Florence.[85] He was, of course, more interested in discussing humanist ideals than in describing reality; but the irrelevance of much of what he has to say may also be evidence that the private bourgeois palace (as distinct from the princely palace with which he as well as Filarete concern themselves) was indeed a distinctively Florentine development during the early Renaissance and not yet a reflection of architectural practice elsewhere.

It is generally held that architectural theorists of the later sixteenth century broke the spell of humanist idealism, so that no longer was there the Albertian preoccupation with the city in the platonic sense, as the perfect abode of the perfect society. Yet for all their greater practicality with respect to urban planning, the treatises (or rather the notes for treatises) of the Florentines Bartolomeo Ammanati[86] and Giorgio Vasari il Giovane[87] show as little concern for practical living arrangements. Both

[83] Hatfield, "Some Unknown Descriptions of the Medici Palace in 1459," 240. A recent attempt to reconstruct the interior of the Medici palace has been made by Wolfger A. Bulst, "Die ursprüngliche innere Aufteilung des Palazzo Medici in Florenz," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz,* 14 (1970): 369–92.

[84] Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture,* especially bk. 1, ch. 9; bk. 5, chs. 14, 18; bk. 9. Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture,* ed. and trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven, 1965), bks. 11, 12.

[85] I know of only two Renaissance palaces with chapels: the Medici-Riccardi and that of Pierfrancesco de' Medici (see above p. 1001)—and the Medici, of course, are always a very special case. Chapels were added to many palaces later, however.

[86] *La città: appunti per un trattato,* ed. Mazzino Fossi (Rome, 1970).

[87] *La città ideale: piante di chiese (palazzi e ville) di Toscana e d'Italia,* ed. Virginia Stefanelli (Rome, 1970).

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men were interested in houses for all strata of urban society, and both left actual designs; but apart from service arrangements there is no indication of the function of rooms. On Vasari's designs the terminology consists of *salone, sala,* and *camera,* but these are related to size not function; and the terms are no more precise than they are either in the fifteenth-century inventories or in the seventeenth-century dictionary prepared by Baldinucci. In short, the Florentine architectural treatises from Alberti to the younger Vasari give us no help in understanding the domestic uses of interior space; and the readers of what these men have to say about palaces might well remark, along with a critic of another era, that "tis very fine; but where d'ye sleep and where d'ye dine?"

This is not the kind of question that has even been raised by architectural historians; their interest in the practical problems of the organization of interior domestic space is as slight as Renaissance theory is irrelevant. Historians at best follow the theorists themselves in exhalting the organization of space within these palaces for being based on certain rational principles that somehow allow the creation of a more purely human environment.[88] When historians get around to considering actual living arrangements, however, they are likely to dismiss them as completely inadequate and to explain that the motivation for building palaces in the first place was a desire to impress rather than to accommodate.[89] While it is not difficult to be somewhat put off by the inconveniences posed by these palaces for twentieth-century living one must remember that to ignore the question of practical domestic accommodations is to overlook the fact that however unplanned and inadequate these palaces may appear to us today they must nevertheless have conformed to the patrician style of life. It may in fact be the case that in this respect these palaces hold the key to an understanding of that life style. If architectural historians would concentrate more on the social realities of a building's function than on architectural theory, style, and techniques, some of the most innovative features of domestic architecture in the Renaissance might be uncovered, and at the same time we might learn something very significant about private aspects of patrician culture.

[88] "Quest'edificio [the Palazzo Medici] che può veramente dirsi la prima *Wohnhaus* moderna in Italia, non tanto per i criteri di comodità domestica cui risponde, ma proprio perchè tali criteri sono superati in un'invenzione, governata da una ragione puramente umane: e in questo Michelozzo è pianamente rinascimentale." Ottavio Morisani, *Michelozzo architetto* (Milan, 1951), 52. "The building [also referring to the Medici palace] is intended to absorb evenly the life of the patron in all its complexity, and there is nothing to prevent us from seeing this coordination of purposes as a result of the desire for uniform development of personality." Paul Frankl, *Principles of Architectural History: The Four Phases of Architectural Style, 1420–1900,* trans. and ed. James F. O'Gorman (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 165. Frankl's call for the study of "purposive intention" has not been heeded by architectural historians of the Renaissance (although in various places Ackerman has hinted at its importance); and the sociologists have been as negligent in the study of domestic space (see, for example, Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969]).

[89] "Naturally, these structures were built to be looked at more than to be lived in . . . and it is hard to imagine where one slept, washed, or found privacy." Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo,* 78. Cf. Giuseppe Samonà, "Palazzo," in *Enciclopedia italiana,* 25: 962.

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The best prospect for penetrating the interior of these palaces and getting some sense at least of the physical organization of domestic space is the study of household inventories and the interior decorative arts. Schiaparelli's remarkable book was a first attempt at presenting a description of palace interiors based on inventories, but it is seriously flawed by its failure to consider various problems of his sources.[90] Nevertheless, it has yet to be followed by a more analytical study. Indeed most of the decorative arts—furniture, maiolica, tapestries—have remained largely untouched by scholarship, and virtually nothing has been done on them from the wider perspective of social history. It is quite clear, however—and not at all surprising, considering the implications of the enlargement of domestic space represented by the palace—that paralleling the evolution of domestic architecture there is a very notable development of the decorative arts. Palaces, after all, had to be furnished—and they were, in ways not at all possible heretofore. Earlier all kinds of domestic activities went on in the same rooms, and furniture tended to be simple in its forms and adaptable to different functions. By the fifteenth century, however, the inventories reveal quite clearly that rooms were beginning to have more specialized functions not only with respect to domestic activities but also with respect to their occupancy by specific members of the family. Furniture therefore became more appropriate to these functions. For example, storage furniture, such as chests, developed in a number of forms as it was increasingly necessary to have more space for the storage of the more numerous possessions of a society that consumed more luxury objects, and the chair evolved with respect to both comfort and form. The new style of private life found expression in these interior decorative arts, and it is in this period that such mundane objects as chairs, tables, chests, pottery, and even picture frames were raised at least to the level of the minor arts. In fact it was precisely this extraordinary demand for such possessions that gave birth to a vigorous Florentine artisan tradition whose importance for the total Florentine economy has never been properly assessed either for the Renaissance or for the continuing tradition of arts and crafts that is the economic basis for Florence's survival today. The social, economic, and artistic repercussions of palace building go much beyond their mere construction.

Despite the lack of documents and scholarship on the organization of interior space and on the decorative arts, one thing is clear: the palace represented a new world of privacy, and it was the privacy of a relatively small group. Although Alberti may have longed for the old sociability his sense of private family life was distinctly of his own time. The household he depicts in his dialogue on the family is that of a single

[90] *La casa fiorentina e i suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1908). Mario Praz's *La filosofia dell'arredamento* (Rome, 1945) is not without merit, but it lacks systematic analysis of style and function.

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conjugal family, a self-contained social organism living in isolation and privacy and sealed off from the broader social and civic world outside its palace door. For Alberti privacy is the hallmark of family life. Not even servants intrude; and he has nothing to say about old and faithful family retainers who might have endeared themselves to their master and become virtually members of the family. When the one servant, Buto, appears it is not in the discussion of domestic life but at the beginning of book 4 as comic relief; and he certainly is not an utter dependent of the family. To judge from private books of accounts and *ricordi* and from household inventories, servants seem not to have been very numerous. There were perhaps not more than two or three for wealthy families, even those with large palaces. Moreover, the rate of turnover among servants could be quite high, employment sometimes lasting only a few months.[91] There is nothing in all this of the social expansiveness of the aristocratic family of the baroque age surrounded with its retainers and servants and playing out a sumptuous quasi-public social life on a truly palatial scale.

Within the isolation of the palace with its spacious privacy and increasing elegance, where relations were more secluded and less extended, where the family withdrew into itself, is it surprising that men found a keener appreciation of the values of domestic life? Alberti's book itself is the most attractive expression of this new sense of the home as an intimate relation among husband, wife, and children, but is not much of the culture of the Florentine Renaissance rooted in the new style of life being played out within the palace? The focus of that culture, in fact, is put on women and children, with the renewed interest in the education of children—merchant pedagogy, as it has been recently termed[92]—and with the remarkable rise in the status of women—for Alberti (at least in the dialogue on the family) the woman was a veritable *capofamiglia,* keeper of the keys, mistress of the household, and privy to almost all her husband's secrets. And the other woman in the lives of these patricians is invariably their children's wet nurse, on whom they lavished gifts and whose importance is to be measured by her prominence among the vital family statistics that constitute the private diaries of the period.

How else is one to explain the fascination, almost the obsession, with children and the mother-child relation that is perhaps the single most important motif in Florentine art during the first century of the Renaissance, with its *putti,* its children and adolescents, its secularized madonnas, its portraits of women. Works of art with these themes dominated

[91] In the mid-sixteenth-century census the population included a large number of servants (Battara, *La popolazione*), but few households had very many; in via Maggio only eight of twenty-seven households had more than two, and only three had more than five; and the two households in the great Strozzi palace had only five each. ASF, MSS, no. 179 ("Strade di Firenze"), fols. 210–11, 253r.

[92] Christian Bec, *Les marchands écrivains, affaires et humanisme à Florence* (Paris, 1967), 286–99.

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the local art market; they were produced in great number and in the cheapest media to meet the increasing demand for them. What is their essential quality if not "the naive idealization of home life, the love for children and the pure cult of womanhood that speak to us from them,"[93] those very values that were being bred within the privacy of the family palace? The first point Cardinal Dominici makes about the education of children in his tract on the family written at the beginning of the fifteenth century (and dedicated to a woman) is that children should be surrounded with pictures of child saints and young virgins.[94] According to the cardinal a child's initial learning process is through the eyes, and the underlying assumption that this experience involves the child in a subject-object identification with pictures may have important implications for our understanding of the fascination with children in Florentine art. Is it possible to understand in these terms such developments in Florentine art as the juvenescence of formerly venerable older men like King David, who from bearded Old Testament king in the medieval tradition becomes the youthful symbol of the political vigor of the city,[95] or like Saint John the Baptist, heretofore represented as a hairy semibarbarian, who now sheds so many years in the course of a century that the patron saint of the city himself ends up being represented as a mere baby playing alongside the Christ child under the protective care of the Mother of God?[96] How else is one to understand the strikingly peculiar iconography of much of Florentine Renaissance art?

Perhaps it is nothing but a happily appropriate coincidence (for this argument) that the building inaugurating the Renaissance in architecture was Brunelleschi's Ospedale degli Innocenti, an orphanage for abandoned children; but it is certainly not coincidence that the interior arrangements were planned with the most remarkable care and sensitivity to make the buildings suitable to their function. Further study of the gradual evolution of the internal organization of the Innocenti as an orphanage will most likely reveal a number of innovative features designed to bring the life of the children more in line with the domestic temper of the times.[97] It was probably as original for its institutional organization as for its architecture. And if the new sense of domesticity and fascination with children surfaced to the level of public sensibilities

[93] Wilhelm von Bode, *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance* (London, 1908), 143.

[94] Giovanni Dominici, *Regola del governo di cura familiare* (Florence, 1860), 154.

[95] Charles Seymour, *Michelangelo's David. A Search for Identity* (Pittsburgh, 1967).

[96] Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Giovannino Battista: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," *Art Bulletin,* 37 (1955): 85–101.

[97] For the volume to commemorate the recent restoration of the Ospedale, A. Piccini has made the first step to reconstruct the functional organization of the buildings: G. Morozzi and A. Piccini, *Il restauro dello spedale di Santa Maria degli Innocenti, 1966–1970* (Florence, 1971). The documentation for the administration of this orphanage in the fifteenth century is considerable; and it merits study.

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in the Innocenti, the same concern also may have penetrated the inner sanctum of the cloister in a most intriguing way—at least we might so judge from the testimony of Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni, a well-off property owner on the via Maggio. In 1452 he recorded giving his daughter, a nun in the convent of Monticelli, a wooden Christ child, with two changes of elegant clothes, three velvet hats, a tabernacle and altar, and "other little things for him."[98] The mind boggles trying to imagine what Suor Angelica did with her doll and her Lord and his wardrobe in the sanctity of her convent, yet is this not to be seen as another of the varied manifestations of the fascination with children so characteristic of Florentine culture? Perhaps there is in part a demographic explanation, as David Herlihy has suggested, for the enhanced importance of the mother within the home and a consequent change in child-rearing practices.[99] But perhaps also the vast internal domestic space of the palace is to be understood ultimately as the objectification of what Eric Erikson has called the spatial mode of woman, so that by heightening her "sense of vital inner potential" and opening her life to those "modes of activity which include and integrate her natural dispositions," the wider stage of domestic life brought altogether new cultural forces into play.[100] At any rate we shall very likely need more psychological penetration into the palace and into domestic life if we are ever to understand much of Florentine civilization.

In a sense the Florentine palace sums up a civilization. Representing the new esthetic consciousness of the patrician and at the same time reflecting the changed conditions of family life that accompany the social transformations of the fourteenth century, the palace is the expression of Renaissance individualism both as a monument to its proud builder and as his castle where he could escape into the luxurious privacy of domestic life. And the furnishings with which he enjoyed that privacy, from pottery to religious pictures, reflect the values of domestic privacy and intimacy that he cultivated within. If the Renaissance begins to fade away in the later sixteenth century, so in fact did the palace have to adapt to new conditions and functions. In fact perhaps nothing better brings home the points I have tried to make about Renaissance palaces

[98] ASF, Carte strozziane, ser. 2, no. 16 bis (*ricordi* of Francesco di Tommaso di Francesco Giovanni, 1444–58), fol. 16r: "Ricordo che insino a dì . . . di giugno 1452 donai a Suora Angelicha mia figlia monacha in Monticelli al lato alla Porta di San Piero Gattolini 1° bambino di legno con 2 veste, 1ª di chermise piano con fermiglio di perle e 1 di velluto allesandro con fregi d'oro, e 3 berette di velluto chermise e 1ª ghirlanda di frangia rossa grossa e 1 tabernacolo di legno dipinto e con 1 altaruzo e con palii d'altare e veli e altre cosette per lui; avemolo da mona Lapa de' Damiani da Pisa el quale donò alla Mea dicendo volendo per dare a Suora Angelica."

[99] David Herlihy, "Vieiller à Florence au Quattrocento," *Annales: E.S.C.*, 24 (1969): 1338–52.

[100] "Womanhood and the Inner Space," in Erikson's *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (New York, 1968), 261–84.

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as domestic architecture than the sad subsequent history of many of them. In later periods their extravagant privacy becomes outmoded: when they had to accommodate the more elaborate style of the aristocratic household they were cut up into more rooms, the mezzanines were opened up into new apartments, loggias were enclosed, chapels built; and where requirements of a more sumptuous social life of the baroque period did not lead to remodeling, economic pressures frequently did, so that previously open areas were enclosed, apartments were carved out to be rented, and at the street level shops were inserted into the façades. In these ways the proud private home of a Renaissance patrician gradually grew old as it underwent a metamorphosis from the geometric simplicity of its original open spaces and classicistic design into the chaos of apartments and shops most of them are today. But that is another story—a story of further social transformations, of changing styles of life, of the degeneration of a culture, and of the sad modernization of Renaissance Florence.

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The American Civil War Considered as a Crisis in Law and Order

PHILLIP S. PALUDAN

DESPITE THOUSANDS OF VOLUMES written about the Civil War we still know almost nothing about one of the central questions that that struggle poses: why did men rush to fight for their endangered country? Indeed why did they believe that secession endangered it? We know with some precision why the South seceded. The answer is obvious at first glance and remains clear upon deeper investigation—the South seceded because it saw in the election of Lincoln a threat to the survival of slavery, the foundation for the Southern way of life. Tradition, psychology, and economics all spoke clearly the same message—without slavery we cannot survive. And so secession came.

But a description of the decision for secession is not a description of why the war came. Although the South prepared for war there would be none unless the North contested the Southern action. Lincoln's assertion that "both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish,"[1] is imprecise and thus misleading. The decision to make war for the Union was made not in Richmond or Montgomery but in Washington, and Boston and New York, and Indianapolis, and Columbus, and Springfield. This decision was made by Lincoln and by thousands of men who throughout the secession winter and especially after Sumter rushed to the colors. To understand why the war came we must look not at secession but at the Northern response to it.

In that response, as we shall see, the concept of law and order loomed large. The concept is a complex one, contemporary political rhetoric to the contrary notwithstanding. The order of a society depends on more than the rigid enforcement of all of its laws. It depends on maintaining an enduring consensus about a people's fundamental goals and beliefs, and hence on the success of the institutions created to secure this consensus. Fundamental

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by the University of Kansas General Research Fund.

[1] Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, 8 (New Brunswick, 1953): 332.

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to social stability is the family with its role of passing on ideals and attitudes about the nature of man, the relationship between man and God, and the duties, roles, and responsibilities of individuals to themselves and to others. In inculcating these ideas the family is supported by a whole environment including schools, churches, and informal and formal groups. Together these social institutions engender a collection of usually unexamined beliefs that act as society's silent, internal police. They say, "You must," "Thou shalt or shalt not," or "This is not done," and they operate wherever men carry their consciences.[2]

Although order depends most fundamentally on these social institutions, any society that advances beyond a primitive level requires the creation of a political order and of institutions that secure it. These institutions provide the means for resolving intergroup conflicts, for utilizing the power of government to achieve the ambitions of society, and for preserving whatever freedom its citizens demand. As the political theorist Carl Friedrich points out, political order is "a term suited to designate the political situation of the community in which component parts, or units, are arranged in such a way that the actions required for the attainment of the purposes of the community will be taken."[3]

In discussing the issue of law and order in the Civil War era it is useful to take Friedrich's definition as a focus. Specifically, order in the nineteenth-century United States refers to a condition in which the people were convinced that those institutions were secure that stabilized the protean nature of their society, restrained the potential for conflict in an environment that encouraged avarice, harmonized the diversity of opinions and influences fostered by a free society, and gave them a voice in determining their future. It is my contention that secession and the firing on Sumter provoked a crisis in which all these things seemed threatened and that, because of the widespread involvement of Northern citizens in the creation and maintenance of legal and political order, saving the Union was not merely an abstract issue but a matter of compelling personal concern.

An investigation of the reasons for this intense personal interest in the survival of the Union reveals serious shortcomings in existing descriptions of the Northern decision to fight for the Union. The traditional way that historians have looked at the reasons the North went to war has been to ask "What did 'Union' mean to Northerners who fought for it?" Thus we have studies of the idea of Union by Paul Nagel and of American nationalism by Merle Curti, Hans Kohn, and Yehoshua Arieli. All of these works describe in one fashion or another the ideas people had about the United States that made them willing to fight to keep it united. Through these

[2] J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1946); James S. Campbell, Joseph R. Sahid, and David P. Stang, eds., *Law and Order Reconsidered: Report of the Task Force on Law and Law Enforcement* (New York, 1970), 3–11.

[3] Carl Friedrich, "The Dialectic of Political Order and Freedom," in Paul J. Kuntz, ed., *The Concept of Order* (Seattle, 1968), 346; see also Hertzler, *Social Institutions,* 113–24.

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works we discover the many images that came to Northerners when they said "Union" or "United States." Northerners visualized a large, prosperous, magisterial land whose continued success depended on unity. They saw the nation as "the last best hope" of democracy in the world, a country with a mission to demonstrate that a nation "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" might work. They believed that here individualism and nationalism were mutually agreeable, not in conflict; that the nation did not submerge but rather expanded the individual by maximizing his opportunities to achieve his dreams.[4] Such inquiries are thoughtful analyses of the issue. But they share what I believe are enfeebling faults. First, insofar as they deal directly with the question, they analyze why the common man went to war by reporting what intellectuals wrote about an idea of national union. Second, they focus their studies of nationalism in the United States too much on the nation as a whole and insufficiently on local experience.[5]

The first of these faults is the least serious. There are, of course, obvious differences between the attitudes of Emerson, Lowell, Hawthorne, and Melville and those of the average American of their time—differences in values seen in the criticism that these men leveled against the excessive materialism of the years from the 1830s to the 1860s. Still, both intellectuals and common people shared a common experience, and while some intellectuals might deplore and common people revel in the potentials for acquisition, we may see the fact and dimensions of materialism in the culture of the time. Emerson's observations of that world are expressed in language more refined than the common man might use, but the crude materialism of Emerson's world is not altered by his intellectual approach. Yet the concept of the Union held by intellectuals is really only secondhand information on why those who fought, fought. Without study of a vital aspect of the daily experience of the future soldiers—their daily involvement with the processes of governing—we should suspect the adequacy of such observations.

The weakness that arises from too nationalistic a focus is that the nation these historians describe was a federal union of states with a national government singularly inactive, a prevailing constitutional philosophy that

[4] Paul Nagel, *One Nation Indivisible: The Union in American Thought* (New York, 1964); Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York, 1946); Hans Kohn, *American Nationalism: An Interpretive Essay* (New York, 1957); Yehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

[5] Both Kohn and Curti point out the states' rights and localistic interests of the North but persist in discussing ideas about nationalism rather than considering the relationship between the way the people lived and their beliefs about nationhood. Kenneth M. Stampp, *And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis* (Baton Rouge, 1950), is an able study of the Northern reaction to secession but confines itself to the secession winter and fails to examine deeply the sources of the sentiments of 1860–61. In addition Stampp discounts the importance of legal-constitutional concern, an error that seriously impedes an understanding of the period he studies. Instead of examining the reasons for constitutional arguments, he assumes that such arguments were "philosophical rationalizations . . . decorated with seductive words" and "self-deception" (p. 31).

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discouraged national activity, and a population that feared its excesses. "States' rights and sovereignty" was a potent rallying cry whose validity and attraction was not diminished but rather demonstrated by the fact that all sections used it when it suited their purposes.[6] In addition the excessively national orientation defies even one of the most tenacious of nineteenth-century images of nationhood. What many Americans admired about their nation was its federal nature, the tradition that kept in local hands the administration of local problems and that gave the people control over their own destiny. This is seen most clearly in discussions over why the nation could and should expand. To assertions that expansion would create tryanny, supporters of manifest destiny replied with discourses on the merits of federalism. Nationalist Edward Everett well expressed their arguments. "By the wise and happy partition of powers between the national and state governments, in virtue of which the national government is relieved of all the odium of administration, and the state governments are spared the conflicts of foreign politics, all bounds seem removed from the possible extension of our country, but the geographical limits of the continent."[7]

In addition the trouble with emphasizing the nation when discussing pre–Civil War nationalism is that such an emphasis misconstrues the nature of loyalty and allegiance. It implies that loyalty to the nation precludes other loyalties, that the dilemma of Robert E. Lee about whether to join his state or his nation describes a necessary dichotomy. But from what social sciences suggest about loyalty it is likely that Lee and those attracted by his agonizing decision saw the problem too simply. Morton Grodzins argues at length that

> direct national loyalty [is] a misnomer. It does not exist. Loyalties are to specific groups, specific goals, specific programs of action. Populations are loyal to nation as a by-product of satisfaction achieved within non-national groups, because the nation is believed to symbolize and sustain those groups. From this point of view, one is loyal not to nation, but to family, business, religion, friends. One fights for the joys of his pinochle club when he is said to fight for his country.

Other authors insist that multiple loyalties are possible and indeed that loyalties to things familiar and nearby are the imperative foundations for attachments to larger and more general and hence more vague ideals and entities. Page Smith, discussing the American Revolution, insists that the creation of local communities that attracted the intense devotion of the colonists was indispensable for generating the "power of common action" that resulted in successful rebellion. Martin Buber adds his insight con-

[6] See Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "The State Rights Fetish," in his *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1935), 220–44.

[7] Edward Everett, "The Circumstances Favorable to the Progress of Literature in America," Aug. 26, 1824, in Everett, *Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions*, 1 (Boston, 1850): 33, as quoted in Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny* (Baltimore, 1931), 106. See also Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York, 1963), 26–27.

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cerning the inextricable connection between local and national loyalty with the observation that "a nation is a community to the degree that it is a community of communities." Such observations were predicted in the nineteenth century by Tocqueville. With characteristic insight he observed, "Public spirit in the Union is, in a sense, only summing up of provincial patriotism. Every citizen of the United States may be said to transfer the concern inspired in him by his little republic into his love of the common motherland."[8]

If we are to understand the reason that the North went to war for the Union we need to follow such suggestions and direct our attention toward the local experience, toward the environments in which the majority of Northerners lived. To focus locally is to ask the question about why men fought for the Union in a different and I hope more useful and precise way. The question changes from the general "Why fight for the Union?" to "What was there in the daily experience of most Northerners that made them sensitive and responsive to those images the Union evoked?"

As the North reacted to the secession crisis one theme was repeated constantly, and it suggests a crucial fact about Northern society. Again and again newspaper editors and political leaders discussed the degree to which secession was likely to produce disorder, anarchy, and a general disrespect for democratic government. The future president Andrew Johnson pictured for his congressional colleagues "this Union divided into thirty-three petty governments, with a little prince in one, a little potentate in another, a little aristocracy in a third, a little democracy in a fourth and a republic somewhere else . . . with quarreling and warring amongst the little petty powers which would result in anarchy." Congressman Zachariah Chandler announced that if secession were tolerated "I shall arrange for emigration to some country where they have a government. I would rather join the Comanches; I will never live under a government that has not the power to enforce its laws." The conservative Philadelphia *North American* called secession "Lawlessness on a Gigantic Scale" and remarked, "The world must regard with profound astonishment the spectacle of national lawlessness which the southern States of this Union now exhibit. . . . Resistance to law, . . . contempt for order . . . defiant rebellion against the entire structure which we call the United States government." The Boston *Traveller* argued that had the founders of the country provided for peaceable secession they "would have organized anarchy." Allow South-

[8] Morton Grodzins, *The Loyal and Disloyal* (Chicago, 1956), 29; Page Smith, *As a City upon a Hill* (New York, 1966), 14; Martin Buber, *The Writings of Martin Buber,* ed. Will Herberg (New York, 1956), 130; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* ed. J. P. Mayer and Max Lerner, tr. George Lawrence (New York, 1966), 147. See also David M. Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," in his *The South and the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge, 1968), 48; and Harold Guetzkow, *Multiple Loyalties* (Princeton, 1955), 37–39. It was David Potter in the above essay who first pointed to the relevance of works by Grodzins and Guetzkow to the Civil War. His aim in doing so was to suggest that historians consider the possibility of Southern nationalism confronting Northern nationalism rather than seeing Southerners as crabbed sectionalists endangering a national consensus.

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ern states to secede, the Douglas-supporting Burlington *Weekly Sentinel* said, and "the Union with all its glory . . . high hopes . . . power, with all its interest has gone and stands in history as another monument of the inability of man to govern himself under the forms of constitutional law."[9]

These warnings and fears, intense as they were, still did not sound the depths of outrage and concern over the threat of lawlessness. It took the firing on Sumter to do that. Until early April men were still debating the question of secession with hope that its potential for disorder might be defused. Many who feared the precedent of successful lawbreaking that secession portended sought to solve the problem by transforming the crime into a lawful act. Newspapers, private citizens, and public figures asked for constitutional amendments that would legalize secession.[10]

The cannonades from Charleston ended such equivocation. Now the issue was not the validity of one constitutional view as opposed to another but the need to uphold government and the rule of law against forceful disruption. Earlier warnings of anarchy were multiplied and intensified. From Chicago: "Without a Union that is free, without a Constitution that can be enforced, without an authority to command respect and obedience . . . our Republic ceases to be a government, our freedom will be quickly supplanted by anarchy and despotism." From Madison, Wisconsin: "This contest is not so much about territorial limits as to demonstrate whether we have government or not." From Indianapolis: "We are fighting for the existence of our own government, and not for the destruction of that at Montgomery." Roxbury, Massachusetts: "Every man instinctively feels that the moment has at last arrived for crushing treason and asserting the supremacy of law and the constitution." Cincinnati: "If [the] doctrine of secession as illustrated and enforced by [its] practice, is true, then there is no such thing as government authority or social obligation. . . . *A surrender to Secession is the suicide of government.*" Philadelphia: "Establish the authority of the Constitution and laws over violence and anarchy." The Republican parties of Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois rallied around the cry "enforce the laws." Two hundred thousand people at-

[9] Andrew Johnson, "The Constitutionality and Rightfulness of Secession," Dec. 18–19, 1860, in *Speeches of Andrew Johnson,* comp. Frank Moore (Boston, 1866), 150, as quoted in Lloyd Paul Stryker, *Andrew Johnson: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1929), 60; *Zachariah Chandler: An Outline Sketch of His Life and Public Services* (Detroit, 1880), 192–93; newspaper quotations from Howard Cecil Perkins, ed., *Northern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1942), 1: 172–73, 195–96, 520–22. See also Frank Moore, ed., *Rebellion Record* (New York, 1962), 1: 82–102; Arthur C. Cole, *Era of the Civil War, 1848–1870* (Springfield, Ill., 1919), 253–55; Kenneth M. Stampp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War* (Indianapolis, 1949), 58–60; Eugene Roseboom, *The Civil War Era, 1850–1873* (Columbus, 1944), 376–79; New York *Tribune,* Apr. 17, 1861; George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (New York, 1887), 31–32; James Russell Lowell, "E Pluribus Unum," *Atlantic Monthly,* Jan. 1861, p. 238; A. P. Peabody, "Loyalty," *North American Review,* Jan. 1862, p. 156; and Stampp, *And the War Came,* 33–34, 54, 75, 200, 220–25.

[10] See Allan Nevins, *War for the Union* (New York, 1959), 1: 35; Sidney George Fisher, *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher,* ed. Nicholas B. Warnwright (Philadelphia, 1967), 375–77; Frank L. Klement, *The Limits of Dissent: Clement Vallandigham and the Civil War* (Lexington, 1970), 54; and New York *World,* Dec. 15, 1860.

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tended a rally at Union Square in New York City on April 20, 1860, and listened for hours to speakers from throughout the North asserting that the rule of law was at stake. Orators such as the New York Democrat John A. Dix, the Whig attorney William Evarts, the city's mayor and future Copperhead Fernando Wood, the Ohio politician Robert Schenck, the Oregon senator Edward Baker, and many others supported the contention of the lifelong Democrat, Robert J. Walker that "we must resist and subdue [secession] or our government will be but an organized anarchy." On April 17 the New York *Tribune* had summarized the prevailing sentiment: "We have a civil war on our hands. There is no use looking away from the fact. For this year the Chief Business of the American people must be proving that they have a Government, and that freedom is not another name for anarchy."[11]

Did secession in fact threaten the order of society in the North? Not this particular secession; a section different in so many ways from the North might justify its departure by pointing to the conflicts that its presence produced. Whatever the reality, however, the factor motivating the Northern response was what men then believed secession might mean and what they foresaw as its consequences. The idea of secession, applied generally, suggested that conflicts between parties should be settled not by harmonizing differences in the service of higher ends but by ignoring those ends in the service of the quarrel of the moment. What community was safe if such a pattern were established and endorsed? But despite this fear, it is possible that peaceful secession would have been tolerated if some regular procedure for division had been adopted or if a way of giving the action some semblance of legality and regularity had been discovered and utilized. The firing on Sumter eliminated this possibility. The issue was now no longer the means of division or the justice of the cause of secession or the right of the national government to use its power to hold a state that sought to depart. The issue after Sumter was, can the country permit force to settle its disputes, cannons to resolve its differences? No people so dependent for success and stability on respecting and adhering to the processes of self-government, in the absence of any other compulsion, could afford to say yes. It is the purpose of the remainder of this article to suggest what in their experience compelled this answer.

NORTHERN DETERMINATION TO UPHOLD government and order against the threat of anarchy was not simply rhetoric. Both speakers and listeners responded to such sentiments naturally, for in talking about the need for order and stable government they were discussing the topic about which the vast majority of Northerners were experts in practice if not in theory. In raising the issue of law and order the speakers struck Northerners quite

[11] Newspapers excerpted in Perkins, *Northern Editorials on Secession*, 2: 808–45.

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literally where they lived. No issue, with the possible exception of acquiring wealth, had attracted so much energy and debate in the prewar years. From the Mayflower Compact and the organization of colonial governments, through the writing of the Articles of Confederation, the creation of the Constitution, the ratification of thirty-two state constitutions from 1776 to 1860 in the states that did not secede (fifteen in the last fifteen years before secession), the debates and elections over constitutions that failed, the countless creations of county, town, and city governments, these Americans had been engaged in government-making.[12] Add to this the millions of words expended debating constitutional questions in the prewar era, the numerous court cases that attracted national attention, the almost constant elections in the country with their concomitant discussions of governmental issues, and it is possible to describe the prewar years as a time of continual concern with questions of government, order, and law.

Although the South shared this history and shared also some of the characteristics of Northern society to be described, Southern fears of losing slavery ultimately overwhelmed countercurrents of loyalty and unionism and a respect for law and order. Had the North been similarly threatened it is probable that Northerners would have risked political disorder to preserve societal order. Many Southerners made this choice reluctantly and seem to have worried about the political disruption secession might provoke. Instead of following their secessionist ideas to logical conclusions, they made sure that no provision for secession would exist in the Confederate constitution. Forsaking uncharted paths they wrote a document that copied in many ways the Constitution of the United States. And again and again they insisted that they were not violating the Philadelphia document but rather upholding its true principles against the lawbreakers of the North. As Confederate President Jefferson Davis told his constituents, "The Constitution formed by our forefathers is that of these Confederate states."[13] Surely the South shared with the North a devotion to the established legal order that only a threat to its way of life could shake.

Yet there were differences in attitudes toward and experience with law and government that may help explain the diminished unionism of the South. Charles Sydnor points to Southern views of law that emphasized unwritten rules of conduct and elevated private over public law codes, the practice of dueling being the most obvious example. He notes the impact of slavery in making every master, and most white men, a law unto themselves when it came to dealing with blacks. Southerners also had fewer opportunities for involvement in the legal-political process than did Northerners. There were fewer towns per capita in the South, less rotation in of-

[12] See Francis Newton Thorpe, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and Other Organic Laws* (Washington, 1909).

[13] Jefferson Davis, "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," Feb. 18, 1861, in Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist,* 5 (Jackson, Miss., 1923): 53.

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fice, and lower participation in voting—all factors worth exploring to test the degree of personal involvement in issues of order, government, and law in the South. That task, however, must be put off until another time. The focus here is on why the North fought to save the Union, not why Southerners tried to divide it.[14]

The avalanche of oratory debating questions of law, government, and the Constitution had special meaning for Northerners. It was not merely theorizing about ideals but was a practical debate about the way they lived. Government in the pre–Civil War North was not "them"; it was "us." The national government was days if not weeks away, and its constitutional powers were strictly limited. It regulated interstate commerce, ran the post office, dealt with Indians, conducted such foreign policy as there was, and paid and administered an army and navy that totaled around 28,000 men as of 1860. In 1861 there were about 36,500 paid civilian employees of the national government, and approximately 30,000 of these were local postmasters. The national government did not tax the public at large. It had no powers in matters of health, education, welfare, morals, sanitation, safety, or local transportation. In short, practically every activity that affected the lives of Americans was the province of either state or local government—and more often than not it was local. An observer in 1850 described the structure of government:

> The President has one postmaster in every village; but the inhabitants of that village choose their own selectmen, their own assessors of taxes, their own school-committee, their own overseers of the poor, their own surveyors of highways, and the incumbents of half a dozen other little offices corresponding to those which, in bureaucratic governments, are filled by appointment of the sovereign. In all these posts, which are really important public trusts, the villagers are trained to the management of affairs, and acquire a comprehensiveness of view, a practical administrative talent, and a knowledge of business. . . . This training is very general; for owing to our republican liking for rotation in office, the incumbents of these humble posts are changed every year or two.[15]

Nowhere was this description more true than in the states of the Middle West. Indeed the recent frontier experiences of that region guaranteed a widespread personal involvement in questions of government, law, and order. In the two generations before the Civil War, wilderness and Indian

[14] On slavery, the South, and the law, see Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York, 1956), 192–236; Charles Sydnor, "The Southerner and the Laws," *Journal of Southern History*, 6 (1940): 3–23; Walter Dean Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," *American Political Science Review*, 59 (1965): 7–21; and Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier," *Political Science Quarterly*, 69 (1954): 340–42, 567–75. This article by Elkins and McKitrick was the stimulus for my thinking about the relationship between government-making and Northern support for the war. The authors, focusing on the nature of the frontier experience, do not draw any conclusions about the coming of the war.

[15] Francis Bowen, "The Rebellion against the Magyars," *North American Review*, Oct. 1850, p. 502, as quoted in Leonard D. White, *The Jacksonians* (New York, 1954), 511–12. See White's discussion of local government on these pages. See also *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, 1965), 710, 737.

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territory had been transformed into states: Ohio, 1803; Indiana, 1816; Illinois, 1818; Michigan, 1837; Iowa, 1846; Wisconsin, 1848; Minnesota, 1858. Such state-making had been preceded by community-making on a vast scale. The early years of settlement in these states lend some support to the popular image of a wild, uncivilized frontier. The predominant pattern, however, was that of a successful struggle for community order, a struggle without much opposition once the permanent settlers arrived. These pioneers carried in their baggage the experience with and devotion to the government institutions of the East. Indeed many of those who came to the West were conservative members of Eastern communities who wanted to re-establish the sort of order they believed was being undermined by liberal domination of their homelands. Their commitment to stability and order can be seen in the fact that they founded churches and schools in the first days of community building. Henry Ward Beecher noted in the 1850s that the frontier settlers "drive schools along with them as settlers drive flocks. They have herds of churches, academies, lyceums; and their religious and educational institutions go lowing along the western plains as Jacob's herds lowed along the Syrian hills."[16]

The institutions the settlers of the Midwest founded were copies of those they had known in the East. The New England model was widely emulated, and it ensured the formation of stable communities, as whole communities often moved together, locating their towns on land that was already plotted and organized into townships. Such activity minimized mad scrambles for land. In some cases settlers found that the apparatus of county and town government preceded them into a region, and they were bound by law and inclination to adopt that organization.[17]

Even in regions lacking such controlled settlement a strong respect for the necessity of an ordered way of doing things tended to prevail. Settlers created their own law and enforced it. The most colorful example of such

[16] Henry Ward Beecher, as quoted in Ray Allen Billington, *The Frontier and American Culture* (n.p., 1965), 7–12. See also Louis B. Wright, *Culture on the Moving Frontier* (Bloomington, 1955), *passim;* Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 315–17; and Smith, *City upon a Hill,* ch. 3. The German visitor Fredrika Bremer observed in 1853, "Whenever Americans establish themselves, the first buildings they erect, after their dwelling house and places of business are schools and churches." *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America,* tr. Mary Howitt (New York, 1853), 2: 135. The war, of course, would generate the Copperhead movement in the Midwest. This fact, however, does not significantly weaken the contention that involvement in the processes of government generated a willingness to fight when the Union was endangered. The region shared the patriotic outpouring spawned by Sumter. Until economic depression struck the region in late 1861–62, future Copperhead leaders like Clement Vallandigham and Samuel Medary were lonely men. Even Vallandigham's opposition to the Lincoln administration rested in part on a concern for the Union. This Ohio Copperhead opposed the president, believing that the attempted coercion of the South guaranteed permanent disunion. See two books by Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago, 1960), 18, 208; and *Limits of Dissent,* 62–68.

[17] Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community* (Stanford, 1959), 261, 296–97; Albert Shaw, *Local Government in Illinois* (Baltimore, 1883), 5–19; George E. Howard, *Introduction to Local Constitutional History* (Baltimore, 1889), 135–238; Smith, *City upon a Hill,* 11–19; Thomas D. Clark, *Frontier America* (New York, 1969), 306–07, 598.

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action was the claim club. Claim clubs were organizations of settlers who wished to secure title to land that had yet to be organized by national law. In Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and other territories the clubs sprang up, manifesting the willingness and capacity of Americans to be their own lawmakers. The clubs' success was noted by one Methodist circuit rider who observed a Wisconsin settlement in 1835.

> They had, in the absence of all other law, met and made a law for themselves. They have surveyed the township & assertained that section 16, the school section, was within the grove, & they staked it off & appointed commissioners to take care of it. . . . They had also meted and bounded every mans wood land, allowing each family 40 acres of timber. . . . There was an understanding in the country, equivalent to a law of the land, that the settlers should sustain each other against the speculator & no settler should bid on anothers land.[18]

The experience of Iowa was typical. Settlers there rushed into territorial lands before the government survey was completed. The land was not officially for sale until 1838 but squatters were there in 1837. Such disrespect for federal law did not signal an uncontrolled, wide-open struggle of the rule of the strongest. True to Northern experience the settlers organized their claim clubs to regularize procedures of land acquisition and to maintain stable prices. These clubs represented more than merely claim protectors. As Thomas D. Clark points out, "These settler organizations had an even broader implication than their function in protecting land claims; they helped to maintain law and order in the frontier community."[19]

Similar experiences took place in the mining regions of the West. Miners who rushed to California often arrived before federal or state law had organized the areas. Again these Americans exercised their lawmaking talents. Miners gathered together and drew up regulations that often began, "Whereas, this district is deficient in mining laws and regulations, and disputes have arisen: therefore, we, the miners of ——— district, in convention assembled, do pledge ourselves to abide by the following laws." By 1866 there were over eleven hundred of these self-governing districts in the eight Western states and territories. A Senate committee investigating these laws observed "this great system established by the people in their primary capacities . . . evidencing by the highest possible testimony the peculiar genius of the American people for founding empire and order."[20]

The relevance of this well-known material to the question of fighting the Civil War is this: again and again Americans proved to themselves that they were lawmakers—that the law and order of their communities was their personal responsibility and depended on their actions and efforts.

[18] Quoted in Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965), 75; see also 72–78. And see James Willard Hurst, *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century United States* (Madison, 1967), 3–5.

[19] Clark, *Frontier America*, 594.

[20] Quoted in Boorstin, *Americans: National Experience*, 79.

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Their connection with the preservation of that order was intimate, vital, and compelling. This is made even more clear when we consider the way in which Americans gave passionate attention not only to the creation of an ordered community but to the legal battles that continued in the towns after they had been established.

Court terms at county seats in the prewar years were gala social events. People drove or walked into town in large numbers. Big wagons filled with women and children and loaded with provisions entered the town from every direction. People followed their favorite lawyers like modern sports stars and demanded of them not only courtroom performance but speeches in the evenings after the courts had closed. The people knew these lawyers, and it was eminently to the advantage of lawyers to be well known and popular, as practically all cases were decided by juries. The system of legal education that prevailed at the time further encouraged a familiar and popular image of the law. Lawyers were preponderantly local men who received their legal training at the hands of neighbors who were established attorneys. They thus became as familiar with and sensitive to local customs and ideas as they were with Blackstone, Coke, and Littleton, for their success was more dependent on such informal awareness than on formal knowledge. In addition opposing lawyers and judges all knew each other well, usually living together in the same boarding house during the court term. Plaintiffs and defendants were often well acquainted, and all figures in most cases were familiar to the people of the area. The jury system, intense popular interest, local training, and the social intimacy produced by a nation that was essentially a nation of small towns and farmers thus all encouraged a law that tended to mirror the judgment and mores of the town or locality. Page Smith's conclusion rings true: "In the small town law was what the community had ordained, growing directly out of the needs and aspirations of the people. It was not something remote, alien, imposed from without."[21]

Popular involvement in questions of the legal order of course transcended concern with judicial proceedings. More than simply jurors and witnesses, these people themselves were the makers of the law they observed being contested. The creation of communities had meant more than providing a police and judicial function; it meant establishing and manning the institutions that made the community function. For every community that was created there were problems of education, health, housing, and municipal services to be solved and offices to be sought and staffed. The extent of involvement the citizens demonstrated and their interest in the survival and prospering of their governmental order was the measure of community success.

The frontier regions, some of them settled only fifty years before, some

[21] Smith, *City upon a Hill,* 131. See also Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809–1858* (Boston, 1928), 1: 528–40; and *Historical Statistics of the United States,* 14.

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in the process of settlement in 1860, demanded the most widespread involvement. From earliest cabin raisings, to the creation and maintenance of towns, to the sustaining of large cities, people took part actively. Men without prior experience were drafted as officials or rushed to file for office as eagerly as they filed their land claims. For example, in Hamilton County, Ohio, an election was called for delegates to the constitutional convention of 1802. Of the ninety-four candidates who filed for ten positions, twenty-six received between 121 and 1,635 votes. "Everybody," one Indiana pioneer wrote, "expected at some time to be a candidate for something; or that his uncle would be; or his cousin, or his cousin's wife's cousin's friend would be: so that everybody and everybody's relation's friend, were forever electioneering." Such involvement in politics continued unabated into the decades before the war. As Henry Clyde Hubbart writes of the older Middle West, "The people of the free West in the forties and fifties were a political people. This was true in all senses of the term politics whether the word be held to mean political ideas and philosophy; or social attitudes . . . or in a narrower sense political party programs or activities; or in a still narrower sense, the designs and manipulations of politicians and petty factions." Large numbers of Americans, then, took a personal and active part in creating the institutions of government that made civilized life possible in the West. Commenting on what they see as the crucial element in the frontier experience, Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick conclude, "Here was a society in which the setting up of institutions was a common experience."[22]

Concern for the government and politics was not confined to the frontier areas of the West. Indicators of involvement in such questions appear in the East as well. In the first place, the founding of towns and the consequent opportunities and demands for participation were not limited to the West. Five of the twenty-seven towns that in 1851 made up Oneida County in New York had been founded between 1827 and 1846. Between 1823 and 1836 there were four towns established in that state's Herkimer County. Erie County, New York, saw the founding of new towns in 1851, 1852, 1853, and 1857. Bucks County, Pennsylvania, just outside Philadelphia, had newly created towns up to 1838, and Venango County in Pennsylvania organized townships in 1845 and 1850 and would continue to do so up to 1876. Towns that had been long established would often rededicate themselves to maintaining the communities they had and to carrying out the ideals of their founding. Again and again, then, Americans in the nonseceding states involved themselves in government-making, considered the problems of self-rule, and thereby made government their own responsibility.[23]

[22] Bayard Rush Hall, in James A. Woodburn, ed., *The New Purchase* (Princeton, 1916), 178; Henry Clyde Hubbart, *The Older Middle West, 1840–1880* (New York, 1936), 10; Elkins and McKitrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier," 331–36.

[23] Pomeroy Jones, *Annals and Recollections of Oneida County* (Rome, N.Y., 1851), 13;

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Involvement in the governing and political process was not limited to forming governments. Rotation in office apparently was frequent. Herkimer County in twenty-six years re-elected a member of Congress only three times; of twelve state senators, only one man repeated in thirteen years. The town of Caroline in New York saw twenty-six men in the office of town supervisor in a forty-nine-year period. The longest tenure was four years, and only two men held the job that long. The town of Queensbury, New York, had fifty-nine different justices of the peace from 1795 to 1873 and 143 different constables from 1766 to 1873. Town records contain thirteen pages listing seventy men each as highway commissioners from 1766 to 1873, most of them single termers. Similarly great rotation in office occurred in the offices of town and ward supervisor in Buffalo from 1854 and in Venango County, Pennsylvania. A sample of New England towns suggests similar facts of rotation. Worcester, Massachusetts, between 1848 and 1859 had seven different mayors and forty-nine different aldermen out of seventy-two possible positions. Ward supervisor positions show the same pattern. Taking only two wards we see twenty-two different supervisors for thirty-six possible jobs in Ward One and twenty-six different supervisors out of thirty-six possibilities in Ward Four. Roxbury, Massachusetts, rotated officeholders with similar frequency.[24]

One did not have to be an officeholder to maintain an intense interest in public affairs. Visitors noted how passionately Americans were involved in politics, the turbulence and intensity of elections, and the apparent bitterness of party strife. Their observations are borne out by statistics. For the years 1848 to 1872 Walter Dean Burnham estimates the mean turnout for presidential elections to be an impressive 75.1 per cent. (By way of comparison, the national turnout in the 1968 election was 61.6 per cent.) In off-year elections an estimated 65.2 per cent of those eligible voted. (The 1970 off-year elections for the House brought 44.9 per cent of the eligible voters to the polls.) When the South is removed from the sample the figures are more impressive still. Between 1868 and 1880 the mean turnout in presidential elections was 82.6 per cent in the North. In Michigan between 1854 and 1872 the mean turnout in presidential years was 84.8 per cent, in off-years 78.1 per cent. For Ohio from 1857 to 1879 these figures read 89.0 per cent and 78.4 per cent. In New York from 1834 to 1858 the mean turnout in presidential years was 84.8 per cent and in off-year elections 81.5 per cent. Further evidence of involvement is seen in the fact that

Nathaniel Benton, *A History of Herkimer County* (Albany, N.Y., 1856), 389; Cresfield Johnson, *Centennial History of Erie County, New York* (Buffalo, 1876), 446, 454; W. W. H. Davis, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (Doylestown, Pa., 1876), 687, 689; *History of Venango County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1890), 689, 702, 732, 734, 740, *passim*.

[24] Benton, *Herkimer County*, 483, 487–90; *Landmarks of Tompkins County, New York* (Syracuse, 1894), 287; A. W. Holden, *History of the Town of Queensbury* (Albany, N.Y., 1874), 64–66, 79–82, 88–100; Johnson, *Erie County*, 456; *Venango County*, 141–52; *City Documents of Worcester* (Worcester, Mass., 1859), 147–48; *Roxbury City Documents* (Roxbury, Mass., 1854), 138–41; *Roxbury City Documents* (Roxbury, Mass., 1860), 231–42. See also Bayrd Still, "Patterns of Mid-Nineteenth Century Urbanization in the Middle West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 28 (1941): 187–206.

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there was a very small amount of roll-off in the voting process. (Roll-off is the tendency to vote only for major offices and to ignore lesser ones.) Between 1857 and 1879 in Ohio the mean roll-off was 0.6 per cent. New York from 1834 to 1858 witnessed a 1.6 per cent roll-off. From 1854 to 1872 Michigan's mean roll-off was 0.9 per cent. Additional testimony to the intensity of political concern is seen in two notable statistics. First, there was very little split-ticket voting. Political preferences tended to be strong and tenacious. Certainly mid-nineteenth-century voters hoped that the best man would win, but they tended to think that the best men were devoted to Democratic, Whig, or Republican principles. Second, there was very little party switching, with the understandable exception of the election of 1840. When either of the major parties won large majorities, these came not as the result of changes in political allegiances but because of abstentions by the voters of one party. Either one voted for his party or he did not vote; it was a rare man who viewed politics so dispassionately that he could stomach voting for the opposition party.[25]

In the prewar period, then, Americans made their own governments, enforced their own laws, staffed their own institutions, and gave intense attention to questions of government, politics, and law. There existed compelling personal reasons to be devoted to the preservation of law and order.

THERE WAS VIOLENCE in prewar American society—a great deal of it. Indians, abolitionists, immigrants, Negroes, Mormons, Masons, as well as the WASP majority all received their share. But violence is not necessarily the opposite of law and order. Modern riots and disruptions have provoked and energized a "law-and-order" movement, but that should suggest that violence may be the instrument of stability as well as disorder. In fact, when we look carefully at the violence of the pre–Civil War years, as well as our own, we discover how much of it, though not all, resulted from efforts to preserve, not to destroy, the existing order.[26] Abolitionists were attacked by "gentlemen of property and standing" for threatening the

[25] Fredrick von Raumer, *America and the American People* (New York, 1846), 267–69; Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, 2: 149–52; Burnham, "Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," 7–28. Roy Franklin Nichols blames continual political activity for helping to cause the "hyperemotionalism" that brought on the war. *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), ch. 28. I would accept this view, but I would eliminate Nichols's negative connotation and suggest that the emotion with which Northerners viewed politics was natural and indicates the worth, not the evils, of the democratic process.

[26] The modern concern with America's violent past has inspired energetic and fruitful searches for incidents of violence. But one wonders if we ought to claim for ourselves a position as a uniquely violent people. One foreign visitor of the nineteenth century denied that Americans deserved special recognition in this field. Writing in 1846, Fredrick von Raumer cataloged violence against the Mormons, rent strikes in New York, and the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island, but he cautioned against too hasty a judgment against democracy because of such incidents. "Those who regard such acts of violence as a natural necessity, an inevitable consequence of republican institutions, take a one-sided and erroneous view of the matter." There was as much violence in England, Wales, Ireland, and even in Canada during a single year as there was in the United States, and Paris alone, he argued, outdid this country in violence. *America and the American People*, 257–66.

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existing economic and racial status quo. Indians were seen as savage threats to the expansion of a prosperous and comparatively well-organized society. Immigrants threatened to inject foreign ideas and practices into a political system that demanded consensus. Mormons outraged the morals of their neighbors and seemed to endanger the prevailing ideology by their exclusiveness. Masons were charged with an anarchistic atheism that would destroy the Christian sinews of society. And Negroes who forgot their assigned place knew that their punishment would not be restrained by charity.[27]

Much of this violence was part of the persistent vigilante tradition in American society. Although hardly the sort of law and order that civil libertarians admire, vigilantism is "as American as cherry pie" and springs from the same sentiment that is the focus of this essay—the belief that individual Americans are responsible for the preservation of stability, that the law is an expression of popular sentiment, and that the people have the duty to maintain it even if procedural due process is not respected. Vigilantism is, as Richard M. Brown argues, socially conservative—an attempt to secure and maintain a society that respects property, stability, and order. To the degree that he feels personally responsible for maintaining order, therefore, every American is potentially a vigilante. Michel Chevalier saw this in 1833 and thought that it was admirable. Local saloonkeepers, he observed, were often the "police commissioner," and the tavern regulars "would in case of necessity be ready to act the part of constables." In a society that lacked a powerful state, he concluded, "This is real self-government; these are the obligations and responsibilities that every citizen takes upon himself when he disarms authority."[28]

Recognition of the strength and pervasiveness of such law-and-order sentiment and of the personal involvement of Americans in the creation and sustenance of government suggests weaknesses in the predominant historiography describing prewar society. David Donald, Stanley Elkins, and Rowland Berthoff have emphasized the unstructured and hence disordered nature of pre–1860 America. Burgeoning popular rule and expanding self-esteem weakened faith in old institutions, Donald argues, and social mobility further weakened society's sinews. Elkins emphasizes the breakdown of key institutions in explaining why Northern intellectuals

[27] Leonard L. Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing* (New York, 1970); Ray Allen Billington, *Protestant Crusade* (New York, 1938); Lorman Ratner, *Antimasonry: The Crusade and the Party* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969).

[28] Richard Maxwell Brown, "The American Vigilante Tradition," in Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Washington, 1969), 121–70; Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States* (Gloucester, Mass., 1967), 321–22. One of the interesting features of vigilantism is how respectful its practitioners often were of due process of law. After apprehending their victims they frequently held trials with appointed judges, juries, prosecutors, and defending attorneys. Brown distinguishes such activity from "instant vigilantism," which dispenses with due process. See also Laurence Veysey, "Freedom and Disorder in American History: An Interpretation," in Veysey, ed., *Law and Resistance* (New York, 1970), 17–19.

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attacked slavery with such unrestrained intensity. Quoting Henry James, as does Donald, Elkins describes American society: "No State, in the European sense of the word, and indeed barely a specific national name. No sovereign, no court, no personal loyalty, no aristocracy, no church, no clergy, no army, no diplomatic service, no country gentlemen, no palaces . . . no cathedrals . . . no great universities nor public schools . . . no literature . . . no political society." Americans are "an unsettled people," Berthoff insists, adding to the strictures of Donald, Elkins, and James a family structure weakened by growing industrialism, the explosive fears of immigrant impurities, and the extraordinary mobility of this people.[29]

The weaknesses in the arguments of Donald and Elkins arise from their sources. Both men use extensively the arguments of elites—intellectual, political, and/or economic—men very likely to believe that as control of society slipped from their hands it fell into the hands of incompetents. Certainly Calhoun and Webster, like Walter Bagehot, distrusted the untutored masses, and it is not surprising to find Henry James, just returned from years in London society, believing that a nation lacking a church, aristocracy, clergy, country gentlemen, cathedrals, and English public schools was about to atomize. As for Elkins, it is reasonable to doubt that one can describe the stability of a whole society by analyzing, however brilliantly, the ideas of Concord, Massachusetts, of Transcendentalists whose emphasis was the intensely aware, free individual seeking community with the Oversoul.

Doubtless, Berthoff and Donald (when the latter describes prewar society rather than relying on the judgments of Bagehot, Calhoun, and Webster) do describe essential characteristics of antebellum America. Industrialization did threaten the family and weaken established economic patterns. The lust for wealth encouraged roaring boom towns and boomtown mentalities: a callousness about anything but the acquisition of wealth. Certainly many feared that immigrants threatened the stability of American society, and there was a unifying force in seeming to defend democracy against an insidious invasion of "popery." Surely America would have been more unified had the national government consistently compelled, by its energy, the admiration of its people. Mobility did uproot Americans and not only transformed communities left behind but influenced the form of those that were created. And there is a strong element of truth in Berthoff's suggestion that the Union garnered devotion because it was an "overarching abstraction" that compensated for the breakdown of families, churches, and old elites. But there is more, I believe, to the fight for the Union, and more to prewar society than this.[30]

[29] David Donald, "An Excess of Democracy," in his *Lincoln Reconsidered* (New York, 1956), 235; Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, 1959), 140–56; Rowland Berthoff, *An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History* (New York, 1971), 175–233.

[30] On the issue of the order of prewar society Clinton Rossiter comments, "Several scholars,

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What is omitted in all these discussions is the factor that must be included in any description of the structure of society and the meaning of nationhood: the daily experience of the people with government. The weakness of current historical literature on the subject is its failure to consider common experience as an important element of social unity, its failure to discuss the ubiquitous personal familiarity of Americans with the institutions of law and order.

But evidence abounds to suggest the importance of this experience—primarily in the record of daily activities but also in the observations of visitors and of the nation's literary figures as well. Despite the protean nature of prewar society visitors noted again and again the ease with which Americans preserved and developed the tools of self-rule. They were struck especially by the facility with which the American people created the communities and associations they needed. "These people associate as easily as they breathe," Fredrika Bremer noted. The need for American settlers to work together, encouraged by the absence of government energy, produced a capacity for self-generated unity that overcame the natural centrifugal tendencies of equality, Tocqueville observed. After over twenty years in this country, the German-American political thinker Francis Lieber was still struck by "the thousandfold evidences of an all pervading associative spirit in all moral and practical spheres."[31]

What they were describing of course was the fact of democratic government—the constantly demonstrated ability of the people to make government and use it for their purposes. On the national level, as representatives from Maine tried to solve the issue of Southern slavery and senators from Alabama sought to establish a government for Kansas territory, in short, as national legislators wrestled with moral issues fomenting in places unfamiliar to them, democratic government was demonstrating its limitations. But in the range of life most people lived, self-government was creating abilities and commitments that would ensure that democratic government would endure in the United States whatever its national infirmities. Men were developing a sense that government was them and that they were responsible for order.

This personal experience with self-government was of course local, as it must be. How could one feel that he was a meaningful part of a government of thirty million people? How could one feel that his wishes were known and respected in a national government that elected presidents

notably Stanley Elkins and Rowland Berthoff, have found so many signs of disorder in this period that they have written forcefully a shattering 'institutional breakdown.' Much as their researches command respect I cannot agree with so dismal a view. They have exaggerated the orderliness of eighteenth century America, underestimated both the tenacity of the family and importance of voluntary associations in the nineteenth century, made a false equation of proliferation with anarchy (as Elkins does in the case of churches) and somehow assumed that man on the move is man completely naked and exposed." *The American Quest, 1790–1860* (New York, 1971), 170.

[31] Bremer, *Homes of the New World*, 2: 153; Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 481–84; Francis Lieber, *On Civil Liberty and Self Government* (Philadelphia, 1851), 129.

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through electoral colleges, senators through state legislatures, and in which the only popularly elected national officials, members of the House of Representatives, represented, at the minimum, thirty thousand people? Men will always view larger concepts and institutions through the prism of their own experience.

And yet when the Union was attacked Northerners equated an attack on the national government with a threat to the self-government they had experienced. Why? The question of course defies absolute answer, but some speculation is in order. Surely important answers have been suggested by the work of Nagel, Curti, Kohn, and Arieli: men thought of themselves as a nation for the reasons these scholars suggest. But we must add to these reasons what the private experience of Northerners contributed. Among other things the blossoming national economy undoubtedly provided many of them with personal experience of connections with other states, other regions. And migration certainly was a factor. Many citizens of the West had been born in other parts of the country; their experience of what the nation comprehended was thus broader than their present locality.

But what is striking is the fact that throughout the disunion crisis of 1860–61 men spoke not merely of a national economy or of the ties of sentiment that bound them to their birthplace but constantly and passionately of the destruction of self-government should secession succeed. They were thus seriously concerned with the preservation of the institutions of government that they were a part of, and they linked their experience with that government to the survival of the Union. Local personal experience was somehow bound to the preservation of national institutions. How?

First of all, they knew that the Union was a federal union, that local government performed administrative functions that Washington could not, and should not, supply. Local government was an inextricable part of the nation's governing process. Functions of local and national government were divided, and debates raged over state versus national rights and powers. Yet the division of power and responsibility existed not for its own sake but because men believed that a national government could not function, nor could it remain the government of a free people, if it took to itself the governing of a vast continent. Men wanted to preserve local government so that the nation could function and continue to be free.

Second, and perhaps of greatest importance in establishing the connection between local self-government and the survival of the Union, was this fact: not only was local government an administrative necessity; it was the fundamental characteristic of this nation. The country had been founded with the ideal of self-rule in mind, had fought a revolution to secure it, and had created a constitution that respected it. Americans endorsed and validated this national ideal every time they established institutions of self-government.

Americans were not attached to a place; constant migration demonstrated

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that. They were not devoted to the land; the image of the land as real estate, the continuing land speculation attested to that. What made them Americans was that they ruled themselves wherever they went. The Scotsman Alexander McKay saw this with notable insight. What distinguished this people, he observed, was "the feeling which they cherish towards their institutions." Europeans loved the land that they and their ancestors had occupied for centuries. But "the American exhibits little or none of the local attachments which distinguish the European. His feelings are more centered upon his institutions than his mere country. . . . His affections have more to do with the social and political system with which he is connected than with the soil he inhabits." Europeans tended to be miserable when separated for long periods from their birthplace, but "give the American his institutions and he cares but little where you place him." McKay admitted that in places like New England there was strong local feeling but what was "astonishing" was "how readily even there an American makes up his mind to try his fortunes elsewhere, particularly if he contemplates removal to another part of the Union, no matter how remote . . . providing the flag of his country waves over it, and republican institutions accompany him on his wanderings."[32] Local institutions of democratic self-government were thus a nationalizing force, and devotion to them was the imperative bond of union.

Of course not every Northern soldier would go to war against the South with the words "law and order" on his lips. Many would enlist in the excitement of the moment. Many would seek the cheap glory of a short war and sign up for ninety days to march under the banner "the Union forever." A response of simple outrage at being attacked was natural enough and was probably widespread. Many believed that the time had come when war might purge the nation of many of its corrupting impurities—the willingness to value material wealth over nobility of character, the inclination to serve personal selfishness rather than the good of society. Republicans naturally were unwilling to destroy their party and repudiate the principles on which they had been elected by yielding to Southern threats and then rebel gunfire. The vast majority accepted the assertion of Richard Henry Dana that the North should not "buy the right to carry on the government, by any concession to slavery." For these reasons and others men went to war.[33]

Yet admitting these expressions of anti-Southern sentiment does not weaken the argument so far advanced for the importance of the idea of law and order in generating a willingness to fight. The source of much of

[32] Alexander McKay, *The Western World, or, Travels in the United States in 1846–47* (London, 1850), 3: ch. 11, quoted in Allan Nevins, ed., *America through British Eyes* (New York, 1948), 260–61.

[33] Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Speeches in Stirring Times*, ed. Richard Henry Dana, III (Boston, 1910), 145; George M. Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War* (New York, 1965), 36–50; Otto Eisenschimel and Ralph Newman, eds., *The American Iliad* (Indianapolis, 1947), 31–37; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (New York, 1970), 219–25.

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this sentiment was a widespread fear that the institutions of self-government that maintained ordered liberty were threatened by slavery and the South. To describe the incidents of the 1850s that spawned or encouraged anti-Southern feelings is practically to catalog apparent threats by slavery on such Northern institutions.

The outrage against the Fugitive Slave Law was provoked in part by the Northern belief that this law defied local custom and traditions of self-government. The Kansas crisis was often described as proof that local government might be despoiled by slavery and its supporters. When Presidents Pierce and Buchanan supported the proslavery government in Kansas, despite the Free-Soil majority in the territory, their action was taken by many as a sign that the corrupting hand of slavery had captured the nation's executive office. When the Supreme Court produced the Dred Scott decision opponents saw evidence that courts were not immune from the same corruption. When Charles Sumner was attacked in Congress the event was described as more than the beating of one fire-eater by another; it was declared to be one more Southern attack on the principle of free speech in a free government and hence on Congress itself. The impact of these events would lead many of the North's conservative legal thinkers, men devoted to the preservation of existing legal and governmental institutions, to take anti-Southern positions even though they deplored the extremism of abolitionism. A potent source of anti-Southern sentiment was thus a widespread fear that slavery and its proponents endangered the institutions of self-government of the nation. Such a threat, of course, would shake Northerners profoundly, for it involved institutions that were an inextricable part of their experience as citizens of a democracy.[34]

Examining the strengths of democracy on the eve of secession one perceptive author hit the mark: More than any other government, wrote Henry Flanders, democracy identified the citizen with his government and thus instilled a powerful patriotism. The citizen in such a state was "an indirect but influential agent in the administration of its affairs, watches with eager interest its course and whenever difficulty or danger impends, with something more than a sense of duty or spirit of loyalty, acts boldly and greatly in its service." Such people were deeply devoted to the law, he continued, for "in doing homage to law, they do homage to themselves, the creators and preservers of law." Three years later, with the war raging, Andrew Preston Peabody was equally struck by the way in which self-government created patriotic citizens. Men who made the laws themselves felt personally responsible for them and their survival. Pea-

[34] *Ableman* v. *Booth* 21 *Howard* 506 (1859); Cecil [Sidney George Fisher], *Kanzas and the Constitution* (Boston, 1856), 50–58; U.S. Congress, House, *Kansas Affairs*, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 1855–56, H. Rept. 200, serial set, no. 869; Joel Parker, *The True Issue and the Duty of the Whigs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1856), 5–11; Phillip S. Paludan, "Law and Equal Rights: The Civil War Encounter" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1968).

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body's language was ornate, but the meaning for the war was precise: "He in whom resides an aliquot portion of the sovereignty" he wrote, "will bear his kingly estate in mind on the numerous occasions in daily life on which he might else forget even his manhood."[35]

Urging the energetic prosecution of the war James Russell Lowell had observed that "our Constitution claims our allegiance because it is law and order." Northerners did not forget their responsibility for that law and order. Foreign observers might have doubted that the nation with the least powerful national government in the world, a nation apparently so centrifugal, could and would find soldiers for a struggle to maintain unity, but those who knew the nation were not surprised. Exulting in the proof of strength that was indubitable by 1864 an obscure writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* remarked, "The bubble of Republicanism, which was to display such alacrity at bursting, is not the childish thing it was once deemed. . . . We have proved that we are a nation equal to the task of self-discipline and self-control."[36] The daily experience of Americans with self-government, with fashioning and maintaining law and order, had done its work well.

[35] Henry Flanders, "British Strictures on Republican Institutions," *North American Review,* July 1859, pp. 104–07; Andrew Preston Peabody, "Mill on Representative Government," *North American Review,* July 1862, p. 232.

[36] James Russell Lowell, "Loyalty," *North American Review,* Jan. 1862, p. 156; T. J. Trowbridge, "We Are a Nation," *Atlantic Monthly,* Dec. 1864, p. 771.

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Buenos Aires as a Commercial-Bureaucratic City, 1880-1910: Characteristics of a City's Orientation

JAMES R. SCOBIE

ARGENTINA'S CAPITAL CITY and major port grew and prospered in the late nineteenth century far more than most other world cities. Its principal functions consisted of administration and commerce. For a period the development of Buenos Aires largely determined the course of national evolution, and the city virtually became the nation. That phase of rapid urban expansion failed, however, to evolve into sustained national growth, and in retrospect it may have hindered the overall development of Argentina. This article describes some internal processes of the expansion of Buenos Aires and tentatively suggests the relationship of the resultant characteristics to national development and possibly to cities elsewhere.

Europe's unprecedented demand for hides, wool, cereals, and meat from the fertile pampas region; the availability of foreign capital for railroads, port works, utilities, urban construction, and land speculation; and the massive immigration of European laborers at the peak of their productive years—all of these stimulated Argentine economic expansion at the end of the nineteenth century and nurtured the development of Buenos Aires as a commercial-bureaucratic city. Between 1880 and 1910 the value of Argentina's exports, between 96 and 98 per cent agricultural, increased more than sixfold. By 1913 over eight billion dollars (at 1950 prices) in foreign capital had been invested in Argentina; in one boom year, 1889, Argentina absorbed between 40 and 50 per cent of all British

I express my appreciation to the Social Science Research Council and to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for support to begin field research in Argentina in 1968–69 on the development of the city of Buenos Aires in the late nineteenth century. I am also indebted to the directors and staffs of numerous institutions in Buenos Aires including the Biblioteca Municipal, Biblioteca del Honorable Concejo Deliberante, Biblioteca Nacional, Biblioteca del Congreso, Biblioteca de la Unión Industrial Argentina, Biblioteca del Banco Tornquist, Biblioteca del Instituto Torcuato di Tella, Biblioteca del Banco Hipotecario Nacional, Biblioteca de la Bolsa de Comercio, Biblioteca del Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires, Biblioteca de *La Prensa*, Biblioteca del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas Dr. Emilio Ravignani, and to the personnel of the archives and map collections of the Museo Mitre, Municipalidad de Buenos Aires, Dirección Geodesia de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Archivo General de la Nación, and the Archivo Gráfico de la Nación.

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capital invested outside the United Kingdom.[1] European immigrants flooded into Argentina to meet the demand for labor. Over four million Europeans entered Argentina in these thirty years, slightly more than the total Argentine population in 1895, and of those nearly 60 per cent remained in Argentina.[2]

These inputs redounded to the benefit of Buenos Aires and its immediate environs. The population of the city and province of Buenos Aires rose from 28 to 46 per cent of the national total between the first Argentine census in 1869 and the third in 1914, with an expansion from 500,000 inhabitants to 3,600,000. Twenty per cent of the national population resided in the federal district alone.[3] The political pre-eminence that Buenos Aires first enjoyed as viceregal capital in the late eighteenth century gained economic backing as the city became the country's major port, railhead, and financial emporium. For the world Argentina meant Buenos Aires. The other provinces remained vestiges of a colonial past, useful primarily for the production of crops or animals. The ambitious and talented, attracted by the opportunity and promise of this primate city, shook provincial dust off their shoes as quickly as possible.

The effect of these developments on Buenos Aires was reflected in a population growth from 300,000 to 1,300,000 and in a startling spread that spilled beyond the 400 blocks (2.5 square miles) built up by 1880 and reached to the limits of the federal district's 73.5 square miles by 1910 (see map). Census data clearly document the city's dependence on immigration to achieve this growth. The age pyramids and percentage distributions of the city's population constructed for 1887, 1904, and 1909 (see diagram 1 and table 1) demonstrate the tremendous contribution by the foreign born in the productive-age categories of 15 to 59. Initially the foreign-born influx had been heavily weighted in these categories toward male immigrants: the proportion of males to females stood at 2:1 in 1887. By 1904 and 1909, among foreign born in the 15 to 59 bracket the proportion of males to females had dropped to 1.3:1. Even more significant in an economy heavily dependent on manual labor was that foreign-born males in this highly employable age span outnumbered native born by 3.5:1 in 1887, 2.7:1 in 1904, and 1.7:1 in 1909.

Commerce constituted the principal activity of Buenos Aires. Although the city had to wait until nearly the turn of the century before new

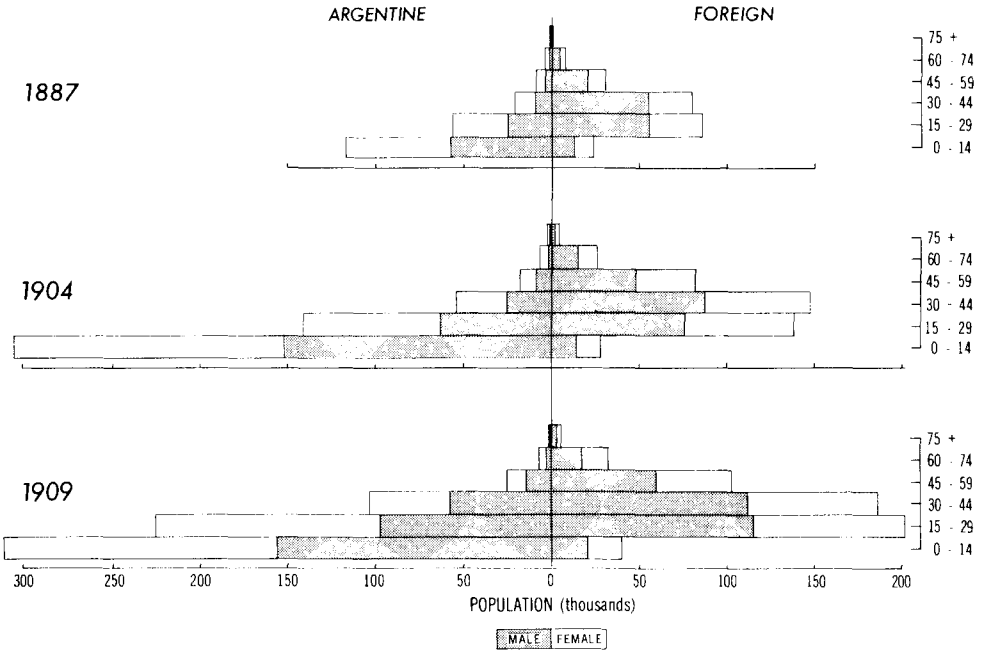
[1] Aldo Ferrer, *The Argentine Economy: An Economic History of Argentina,* tr. Marjory M. Urquidi (Berkeley, 1967), 229; Henry S. Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), 397.

[2] James R. Scobie, *Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860–1910* (Austin, 1964), 169, table 1.

[3] In 1880 the struggle to determine the location of Argentina's national capital ended with legislation that established the federal district—the city of Buenos Aires endowed with generous boundaries to allow for expected urban growth. The subsequent expansion has led to the definition of Greater Buenos Aires with a population in 1970 of more than eight million, in which is included the federal district's three million.

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DIAGRAM 1. AGE PYRAMIDS FOR THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES, 1887, 1904, 1909[a]



[a] Compiled from the municipal censuses of Buenos Aires for 1887, 1904, and 1909.

TABLE 1. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN BUENOS AIRES, 1887, 1904, 1909, BY PERCENTAGES[a]

	1887		*1904*		*1909*	
Males	*Argentine*	*Foreign*	*Argentine*	*Foreign*	*Argentine*	*Foreign*
0–14	23.3%	5.2%	30.8%	3.0%	23.9%	3.1%
15–29	10.1	22.6	12.8	15.4	14.8	17.5
30–44	3.6	22.7	5.2	17.6	8.8	17.1
45–59	1.4	8.4	1.7	9.7	2.2	9.1
60–74	.5	1.9	.4	2.9	.4	2.6
75–	.1	.2	.1	.4	.1	.4
	39.0%	61.0%	51.0%	49.0%	50.2%	49.8%
	100.0% = 242,800		100.0% = 492,100		100.0% = 652,000	
Females						
0–14	30.5%	5.8%	33.6%	3.1%	26.7%	3.3%
15–29	16.4	15.9	17.0	13.4	21.8	14.5
30–44	6.0	13.4	6.3	13.1	7.8	12.6
45–59	3.1	5.1	2.0	7.4	2.0	7.4
60–74	1.4	1.8	.9	2.6	.7	2.6
75–	.4	.2	.2	.4	.2	.4
	57.8%	42.2%	60.0%	40.0%	59.2%	40.8%
	100.0% = 189,900		100.0% = 452,800		100.0% = 579,700	

[a] Calculations based on *Censo general de la ciudad de Buenos Aires de 1887*, 2: 37–42; *de 1904*, 30–34; *de 1909*, 1: 35–36, 47–49.

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port works and channels overcame the handicaps of the estuary's shallow mud flats, the city easily maintained its role as the country's leading port, a position established at its foundation in the late sixteenth century. During the period from 1880 to 1910 approximately half of all overseas tonnage to Argentina entered the country through Buenos Aires, a total four to six times greater than its closest competitor, Rosario. Construction of the country's railroad network, accomplished largely during these same decades, confirmed this position of dominance. Through this railroad system passed both agricultural products destined for Brazil and Europe and manufactured goods from abroad.[4]

Shops and stores, always numerous for the city's size, kept pace with overall population growth and increased from 9,000 in 1887 to nearly 28,000 by 1914. In the three decades between these two censuses, while such establishments tripled in number, their value increased twelvefold. Industry lagged, with a capital investment usually half that in commerce. Most important, industrial facilities and employees were concentrated in meat packing, flour milling, wool washing, food processing, and construction, all of which supported the city's role as the entrepôt for an agricultural hinterland.

The city's dedication to bureaucratic activity cannot be measured as clearly, although its role and functions as the federal district after 1880 implied major involvement in national administration. The country's bureaucracy had long been centered at Buenos Aires. The city had served since 1618 as the seat of a governorship with authority reaching to Santa Fe and Corrientes in the north, and in 1776 it had become the capital of the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, which controlled all of Argentina as well as Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. During the disturbed, early years of independence Buenos Aires continued to be recognized as the center of authority. The final step, definition of a federal district in 1880, merely confirmed an establishment administrative function. Almost all political and economic decisions that affected national development were made in Buenos Aires. Here, after 1862, were the two houses of the national congress as well as the presidency, ministries, and supreme court. Men from the provinces came to the city, drawn by opportunities and offices. Repeatedly these individuals adopted Buenos Aires as their own. After 1880 the congress, largely composed of provincials, lavished funds to transform this large village of low, one-story buildings into Latin America's most elegant metropolis, a Paris of the Southern Hemisphere. National expenditures, devoted in substantial proportion to increasing the city's splendor and commercial-administrative importance, rose accordingly, from 44.5 million gold pesos

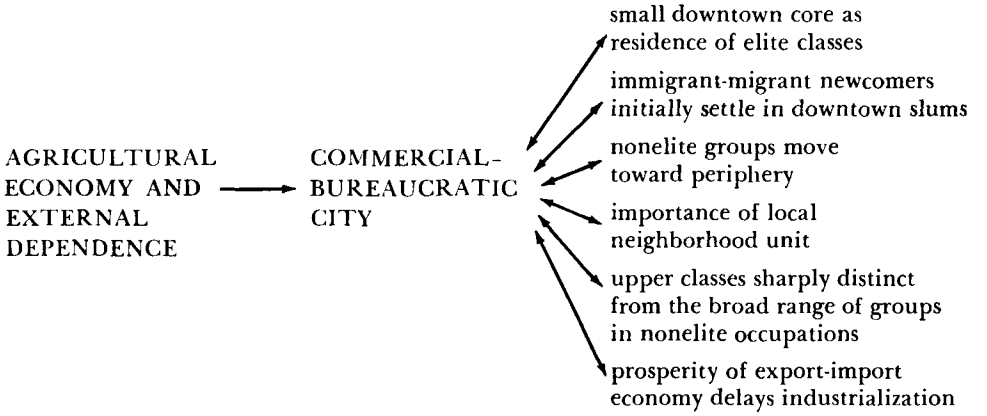
[4] See Scobie, *Revolution on the Pampas,* 40–41, for maps of the railroad network in 1880 and 1910.

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spent annually in the first five years of the 1880s to 131 million annually between 1905 and 1909.[5]

Buenos Aires at the end of the nineteenth century can thus be defined as a commercial-bureaucratic city in which almost all economic activity was concentrated in commerce and government or in closely related and subordinated fields.[6] The expansion of the agricultural economy with its heavy dependence on external supplies of labor and capital and its nearly total reliance on outside markets for the sale of agricultural products stimulated the growth of a major administrative and exchange center. The particular cluster of characteristics that developed from the commercial-bureaucratic orientation in turn reinforced that trend. This is not to suggest that Buenos Aires held a monopoly on these urban traits. Cities with other types of specialization clearly possess some of these characteristics. It was, however, the combination of traits brought together for a period of time that helps to characterize this particular orientation. The maturation of Buenos Aires as a commercial-bureaucratic city can be presented in simplified schematic form, as in diagram 2.

DIAGRAM 2. DYNAMICS OF THE COMMERCIAL–BUREAUCRATIC CITY



The six characteristics outlined in this diagram are explored in the following pages as a basis for suggesting the impact of the commercial-bureaucratic experience on Argentine development and the possible application of the commercial-bureaucratic example to the study of other urban centers.

EVEN IN THE 1970s the central business district for the metropolitan area of Greater Buenos Aires, with its more than eight million inhabitants, is

[5] Calculated from tables on government expenditures in Ernesto Tornquist y Cía, *El desarrollo económico de la República Argentina en los últimos cincuenta años* (Buenos Aires, 1920), 279–80.

[6] See appendix, "A Note on the Nature of the Commercial-Bureaucratic City," pp. 1071–73.

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limited to an amazingly small area of one hundred blocks (see map). The downtown core has shifted slightly northward since the colonial period but still contains the Plaza de Mayo, the heart of the city from its founding in 1580 (figure 1 shows the Plaza de Mayo and the Avenida de Mayo in 1898).

Characteristic of the Spanish city, and perhaps of the preindustrial city, is the physical location of those persons with prestige, wealth, and power around the principal plaza.[7] From the time of the foundation of Buenos Aires the fort, principal church, and municipal offices occupied positions on the Plaza de Mayo. The most important business and community leaders built their commercial houses and residences around the two open squares of the plaza. The intellectual and social center of the city, with the University of Buenos Aires established in 1821, the theaters, the elegant shops, and the more elite residences, developed at the south edge of the plaza and extended south for five or six blocks. As one moved away from the plaza the wealth and prestige of the residents tended to decrease until one reached open fields and small farm plots. At mid-nineteenth century these outskirts still encircled the city at distances of less than a mile from the plaza.

During the period from 1880 to 1910 the commercial and elite center of the city moved northward. By the end of the century it extended eight or nine blocks north and west from the Plaza de Mayo and only one or two blocks south. The colonial-style architecture, which gathered family and servants around three interior patios (see floor plan of colonial-style house in diagram 3), no longer satisfied the wealthy. This earlier type of architecture presented a wall to the outside world broken only by a heavy wooden door and two or three barred windows. Such dwellings sheltered the family and its way of life from outsiders, even from neighbors. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the rich increasingly aspired to lavish and ostentatious three- and four-storied mansions. To acquire necessary space they abandoned much of the area south of the plaza to tenements or slums and built up the district of Barrio Norte,[8] fifteen to twenty-five blocks northwest of the plaza (figure 2 shows an established street of elite residences, Avenida Alvear, around 1900).

Despite this slight northward adjustment the affluent clung to the city's center, in large measure because of the extraordinary spatial concentra-

[7] Particularly useful in understanding Latin American urban development is the extensive work done by Richard M. Morse. His bibliographical articles in the *Latin American Research Review* are especially pertinent: "Recent Research on Latin American Urbanization: A Selective Survey with Commentary," vol. 1, no. 1 (1965): 35–74; "Trends and Issues in Latin American Urban Research, 1965–1970," vol. 6, nos. 1 and 2 (1971): 3–52, 19–75, respectively. Also helpful is Morse's "Some Characteristics of Latin American Urban History," *AHR*, 67 (1961–62): 317–38.

[8] The use of the word "barrio" in the name of this district, which covered approximately sixty city blocks, has nothing to do with the small neighborhood unit of two to five blocks discussed later on pages 1052–56.

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tion of commercial, financial, administrative, social, and intellectual activities in the downtown core. In a commercial-bureaucratic city, housing and services designed primarily for the elite classes tend to be concentrated at the core, partly for the convenience and economy of those classes and partly because the smallness of the elite allows for such compactness. Buenos Aires has often been compared to Goliath's head, and many have attributed Argentina's problems to the fact that a sprawling nation is dominated by a single primate city. But as the *Revista Municipal* noted in 1910, "The comparison also has application within the city of Buenos Aires itself, which suffers from the same defect of an enormous extension served by a tiny nucleus at its center where an attempt is made to concentrate all urban activities."[9] The financial affairs of the nation—in the stock exchange, cereal exchange, and the country's twenty-two major banks —were conducted along a few blocks of San Martín and Bartolomé Mitre, two blocks from the Plaza de Mayo (figure 3 shows a section of this financial district around 1910). When the city's first large department stores, Gath y Chaves and A la Ciudad de Londres, opened at the end of the nineteenth century, each occupied several-storied buildings only a block from the plaza. The national congress, executive office building, ministries, law courts, and municipal and national offices were all located on the plaza or within a block's distance.[10] Other activities also crowded into the core. Wholesale trade remained concentrated in the blocks adjoining the plaza, despite increasing problems of storage and traffic. Not until the decade of the 1910s did the law and medical faculties move from the core to a location twenty blocks northwest of the plaza. Theaters and social clubs likewise remained close to the plaza. The first two elite clubs, the Club del Progreso and Club del Plata, both established in the 1850s, were located just to the south of the plaza. When these were supplanted in the 1880s by two new prestige clubs, the Jockey Club and the Círculo de Armas, the preferred locations had shifted several blocks to the north. The opening in 1908 of the magnificent Colón Opera House nine blocks to the northwest of the plaza served to enlarge slightly the social and cultural core but did not change the pull that the center exerted on the city's well-to-do.

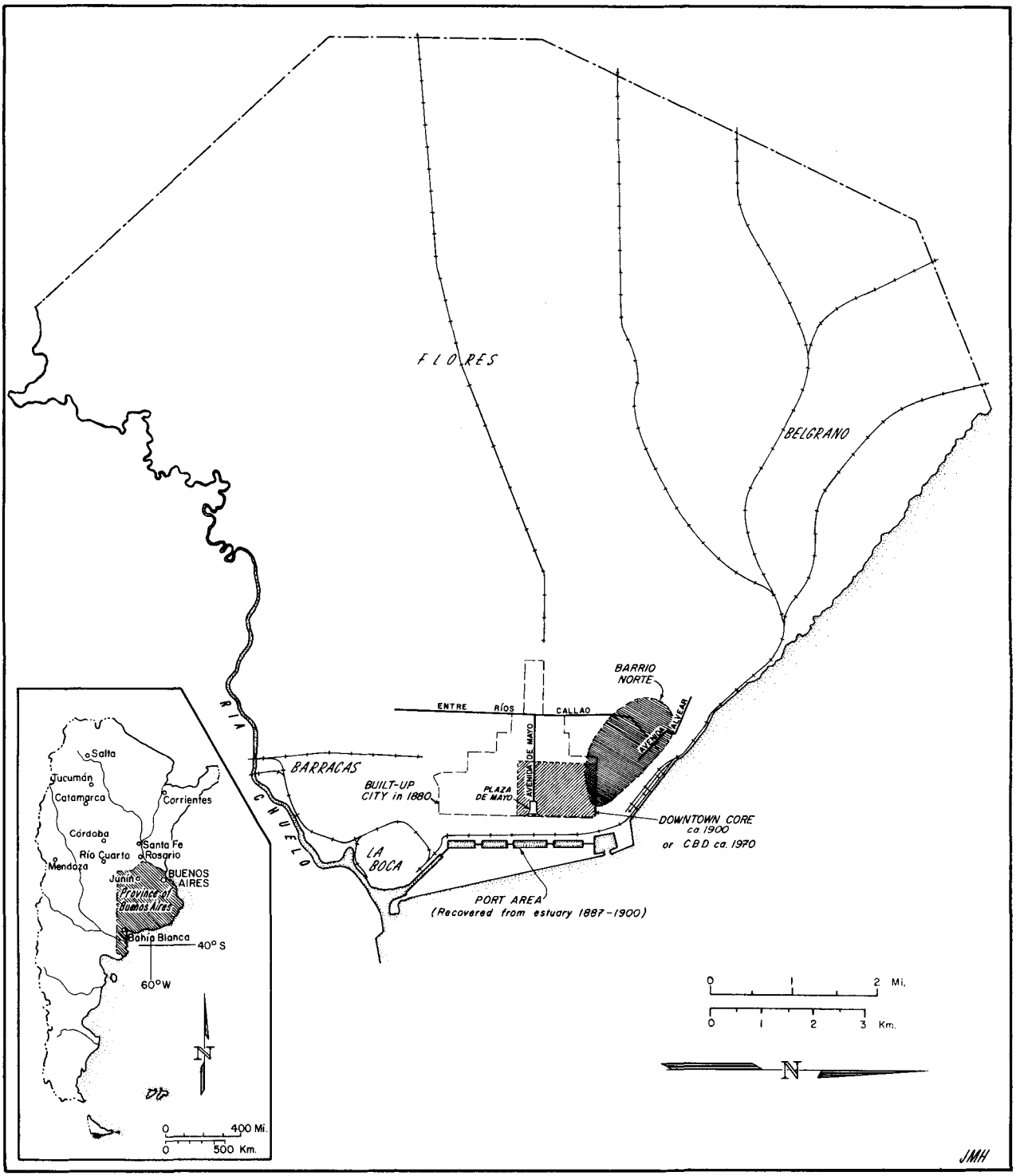
While the concentration of these urban and frequently national activities may well have contributed to the elite's desire to remain near the downtown core, the fact that this core provided services, offices, and often residences primarily for the upper classes but not for the mass of the *porteño* populace[11] explains how such concentration was feasible. The

[9] *Revista Municipal,* Aug. 15, 1910, p. 11.

[10] A new building for the national congress was erected at the opposite end of the mile-long Avenida de Mayo from the Plaza de Mayo. The congress moved its sessions from the old building on the Plaza de Mayo to this new location in 1906.

[11] The term *porteño* is used as a noun or adjective to describe association with the city of Buenos Aires.

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THE FEDERAL DISTRICT OR THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES, 1880–1910 (WITH INSET OF ARGENTINA)

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Fig. 1. The Plaza de Mayo and the recently completed Avenida de Mayo in 1898, looking west from the Casa Rosada, or executive office building. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo Gráfico, Colección Sociedad Fotográfica Argentina de Aficionados (hereafter AG, SFAA).

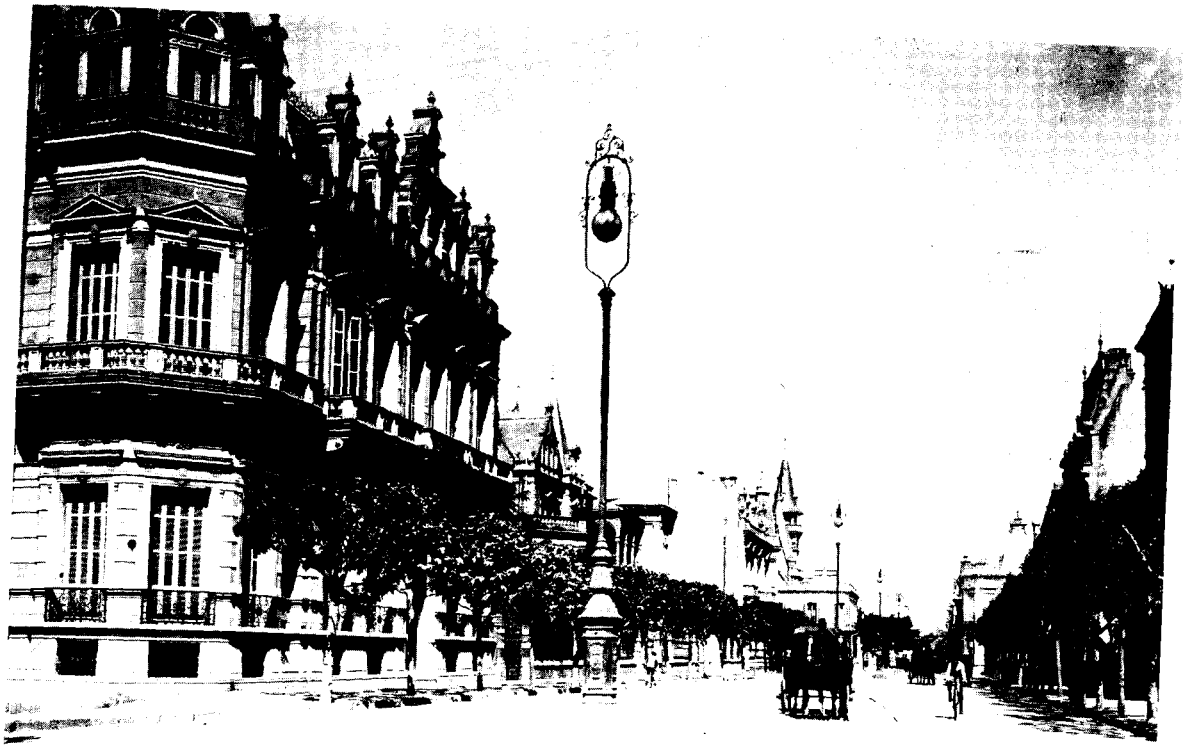


Fig. 2. An elite residential area along Avenida Alvear in Barrio Norte, ca. 1900. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, SFAA.

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Fig. 3. The financial district, ca. 1910, corner of Bartolomé Mitre and Reconquista looking west along Bartolomé Mitre. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, SFAA.

number of *porteño* men in the upper classes increased from 7,000 in 1887, to 11,000 in 1895, to 16,000 in 1904, to 20,000 in 1909, and to 27,000 by 1914, but remained constant at 4 to 5 per cent of the total employed male population in the city (see table 2 and the discussion of social structure, pp. 1056–64).[12] When these figures are divided by a factor of at least four to compensate for extended families, the evidence suggests that the upper classes were constituted by fewer than 2,000 families in 1887 and approximately 7,000 families by 1914. Such numbers clearly could be accommodated in areas north of the Plaza de Mayo and in Barrio Norte without creating major pressures or problems. In 1910, therefore, the elite still looked to the downtown core as its place of business and pleasure and frequently as home. For these individuals this was the city.

12 The principal sources for census materials used in this article are the published reports of national and municipal censuses: *Censo nacional de 1869* (Buenos Aires, 1872); *Censo general de la ciudad de Buenos Aires de 1887*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1889); *Censo nacional de 1895*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1898); *Censo general de la ciudad de Buenos Aires de 1904* (Buenos Aires, 1906); *Censo general de la ciudad de Buenos Aires de 1909*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1910); *Censo nacional de 1914*, 10 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1916–17).

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DESPITE THE PRESTIGE attached to the center of a commercial-bureaucratic city, pockets of slum settlement inhabited largely by recent arrivals develop at the heart of the city in a fashion similar to that in many other types of urban centers. In these slum settlements the newcomers benefit from low rents in high-density housing and closeness to work while they acquire familiarity with the city and its ways. Thus in Buenos Aires the downtown area served as an initial place of residence for many of the immigrants who entered Argentina.

The *porteño* population growth at the end of the nineteenth century was extraordinary. To a population of 300,000 in 1880 was added one million by 1910. A trickle of migration from the Argentine provinces; a rapid fall in the death rate after 1900 because of improved public health and sanitation; a continued high birthrate, especially among immigrant women; and, most important, a massive influx of immigrants from Southern Europe—all of these contributed to the demographic explosion. The largest group, the recently arrived European laborers, gravitated to the urban core and settled in slum housing. Some of these tenements, or *conventillos,* were interspersed in the same block as the homes of more accommodated groups; others were concentrated in areas abandoned by the wealthy in their northward push.

The only two censuses that record *conventillo* dwellers, those of 1887 and 1904, indicate a concentration of tenement settlement adjacent to the Plaza de Mayo. Twenty-seven per cent of the 193,000 individuals in the three census districts surrounding the Plaza de Mayo, an area extending sixteen blocks west, thirteen blocks south, and eight blocks north of the plaza, occupied slum housing in 1904. The smaller census districts used in 1887 reveal that this proportion increased to one-third or more in the areas immediately to the south of the plaza and along the waterfront southeast and northeast. The number of slum dwellers declined as one moved away from the downtown core and virtually disappeared at a distance of forty blocks from the plaza. According to the 1887 census, foreign born constituted 72 per cent of the slums' inhabitants. If one could allow for the children born in Argentina to foreign parents as well as for recently arrived migrants from the provinces, the percentage of new arrivals more likely approximated 90 or 95 per cent.

These slums shared the characteristics of high-density, low-income settlements of inner cities elsewhere. The *porteño* slum dated from the mid-nineteenth century when the increasing need for manual laborers at the city's center and port and the rising tide of immigrants showed that workers and their families could be profitably crammed into small spaces. As old colonial-style buildings constructed around two or three interior patios deteriorated and became less desirable as single-family dwellings, rooms that opened off the patios were rented to families or groups of single men. Gradually property owners devised more profitable ways to divide up

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space. In the highest density type of construction a corridor ran from the street entrance to the rear of the building. Partitions and extensions on both sides of the corridor filled most of the patio space with rooms measuring roughly twelve feet by twelve. Thus the colonial-style house that had been typically occupied by a family of twenty-five (fifteen members and ten servants) served 340 persons when subdivided (see diagram 3). Profits were so high—estimated at 3 to 4 per cent per month—that by the late 1860s buildings were constructed specifically for this purpose.[13]

Descriptions from the beginning of the twentieth century depict the conditions of *conventillo* life.[14] The one-room dwelling with forty to one hundred cubic yards of air served a family with two to five children or a group of four or five single men. At the door to each room stood a pile of wooden boxes. One generally held a basin for washing; another a charcoal brazier on which to cook the daily watery stew, or *puchero;* and garbage accumulated in a third. Two or three iron cots, a pine table, a few wooden chairs, an old trunk, perhaps a sewing machine, and more boxes completed the furnishings. Light came from the open door and one window, from an oil or gas lamp, or occasionally from a bare electric light bulb. On the once-whitewashed walls were tacked pictures of popular heroes, generals, or kings torn from magazines, an image of the Madonna and a couple of saints, perhaps a faded photograph of family members in Europe. The women often eked out miserable incomes by taking in laundry and washing and drying it in the patios. Others ironed or sewed on a piecework basis. Some men worked here: in one corner a shoemaker might ply his trade, in another a man might bend over a small table repairing watches. The great majority of men left at 4:30 on summer mornings and at 6:00 on winter days and returned twelve hours later after strenuous labor on the docks and construction sites.

Municipal authorities waged a constant struggle with the *conventillo* owners, "who are the richest and most respected men of Buenos Aires."[15] By 1900 regulations ruled that *conventillos* had to be above street level, receive a yearly whitewashing, have a concrete patio at least fifteen feet wide, contain latrines and baths, and include one window plus a door in each room. Rooms, if anything, decreased in size, baths remained a rarity, and a latrine served as many as seventy persons. But there was an undeniable improvement in the water supply and in sewage disposal, which was reflected in the falling death rate at the city's center.

Newly arrived laborers in the city thus adjusted to the environment of Buenos Aires largely through the *conventillos* located in or near the down-

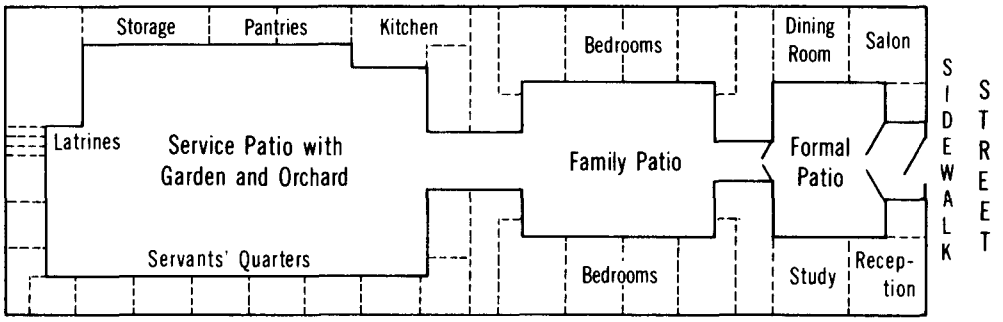
[13] *La Prensa,* Sept. 8, 1901, p. 4.

[14] Particularly vivid descriptions of *conventillo* life and conditions are found in *Boletín del Departamento Nacional del Trabajo,* no. 5 (1908): 230–40; Adrián Patroni, *Los trabajadores en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1898), 126–33; Guillermo Rawson, "Estudio sobre las casas de inquilinato en Buenos Aires," *Escritos y discursos,* 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1891), 2: 110–14, 142–44; and Samuel Gâché, *Les logements ouvriers à Buenos-Ayres* (Paris, 1900).

[15] *La Prensa,* Jan. 3, 1874, p. 1.

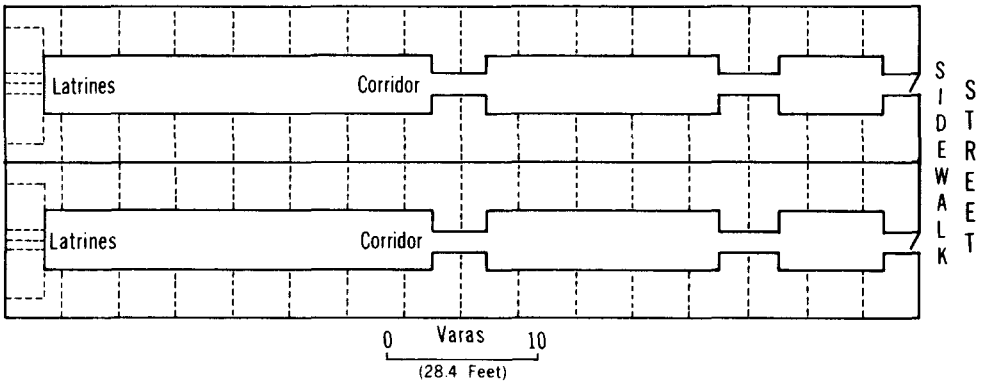
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DIAGRAM 3. COLONIAL–STYLE HOUSE AND ITS CONVERSION INTO A CONVENTILLO, CITY OF BUENOS AIRES



COLONIAL–STYLE HOUSE: Built on lot 20 varas by 60 (56.8 feet by 170.4), occupied normally by 25 persons (15 members of the family and 10 servants).

CONVENTILLO: Formed on the same city lot, but with 68 rooms, each normally housing 5 inhabitants, or a total of 340 persons.



town core. Some of the poor and humble, particularly the native-born migrants from the interior provinces, also ringed the city's outskirts with their shacks and thus continued a pattern established in the colonial period. Swampy or frequently flooded areas, public domain slated for port works, and localities far removed from transportation facilities provided these squatters with land. The huts might vary according to location and time from straw-thatched roofs and mud-plastered walls to corrugated iron sheets and flattened oil cans, but they all shared remoteness from rent and tax collectors (figures 4 and 5 show shacks in the port area and the interior of a hut around 1900). The graphic term of *cinta negra,* or "black belt," did not emerge until years later, but the description printed in the *Revista Municipal* in 1896 vividly suggests the environment of these outlying squatter settlements.

The stream bed of Maldonado, the marshes of Flores, the slaughterhouse district, the Riachuelo stream, La Boca district, and the lagoons in the port zone surround the central city like a chain, the links of which are formed by morasses,

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bogs, pools of stagnant water, and piles of garbage, reinforced by a rosary of workshops, small plants, and other establishments that have no means to dispose of their wastes without endangering public health.[16]

THE CITY'S MOST IMPRESSIVE spatial growth occurred in the areas between the remote and undesirable outskirts and the downtown core. This striking transformation of the landscape emerges graphically in two photographs (figures 6 and 7), taken from the same spot but at an interval of thirty years, of the main avenue leading south from the downtown core toward Barracas. The initial experience of Buenos Aires as a "walking" city had been to push outward in a rough semicircle from its center at the Plaza de Mayo. The building of railroads in the 1860s and of streetcar lines after 1870 distorted this expansion with three prongs, one south from the center toward the coastal trade and fishing operations in La Boca, one due west from the plaza to Flores, and the other north along the estuary to Belgrano. The subsequent addition of two more major railroad lines in the northwestern section of the federal district further attracted population in this direction. Built-up blocks gradually replaced the small farms and open fields that until the 1880s had separated these villages from the central city.

The city's highest population density in the 1880s occurred in an area well served by streetcar lines, a band several blocks wide and some fifteen blocks long located eight to ten blocks west of the Plaza de Mayo. This band moved outward, expanding slightly in width and length, until by 1910 it stabilized immediately west of the streets of Entre Ríos/Callao, fifteen blocks from the plaza. From this area and from the *conventillos* that were located even closer to the downtown core came the men and women who helped extend Buenos Aires from a one-mile walking radius in 1880 to built-up zones scattered throughout the federal district by 1910, some as much as ten miles from the Plaza de Mayo.

In the commercial-bureaucratic environment the masses of blue-collar–white-collar workers, not drawn together by concentrations of industry and lacking the class consciousness and the access to lineage, education, and wealth monopolized by the upper classes, seek their own kind of upward mobility and security in ownership of individual house lots and homes remote from the downtown core. The outward expansion of Buenos Aires thus owed much to the push of the common man toward better living conditions and cheaper land or rents on the urban periphery. Once established by several years' residence in a *conventillo* or in other high-density housing near the downtown core, the immigrant or migrant

[16] *Revista Municipal,* Jan. 8, 1896, p. 2. A commentary on the *cinta negra* appears in Alcides Greca, *Problemas del urbanismo en la República Argentina* (Santa Fe, 1939), 34–35.

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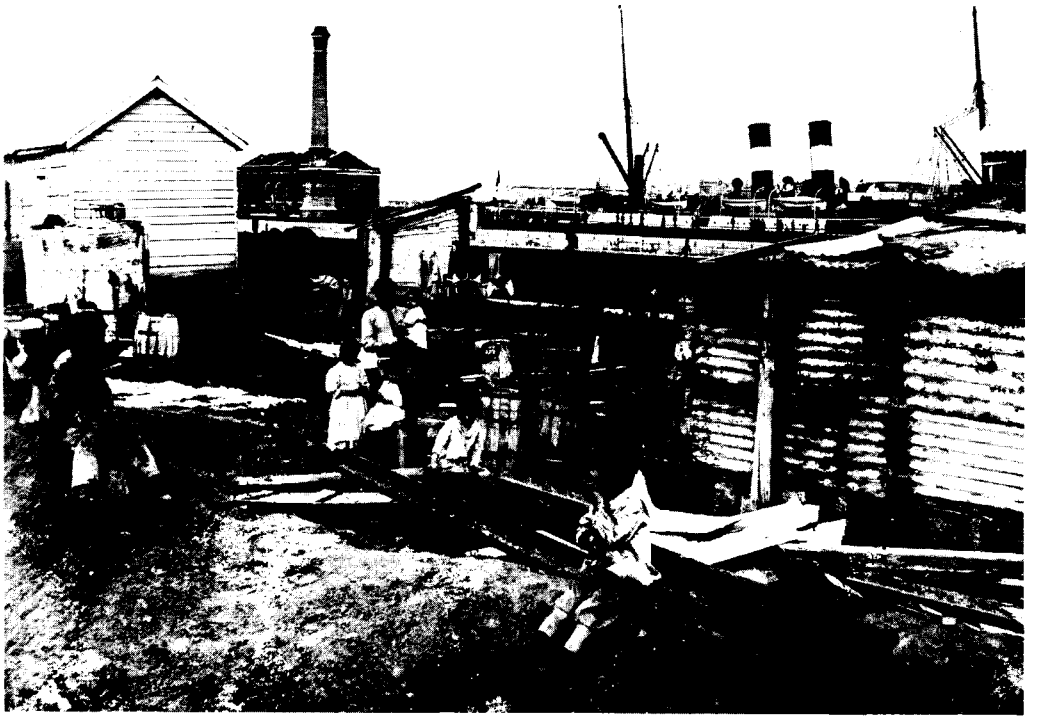


Fig. 4. Squatter shacks in the port area of Buenos Aires, ca. 1905. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, SFAA.



Fig. 5. Interior of a squatter hut, ca. 1900. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, Colección Witcomb.

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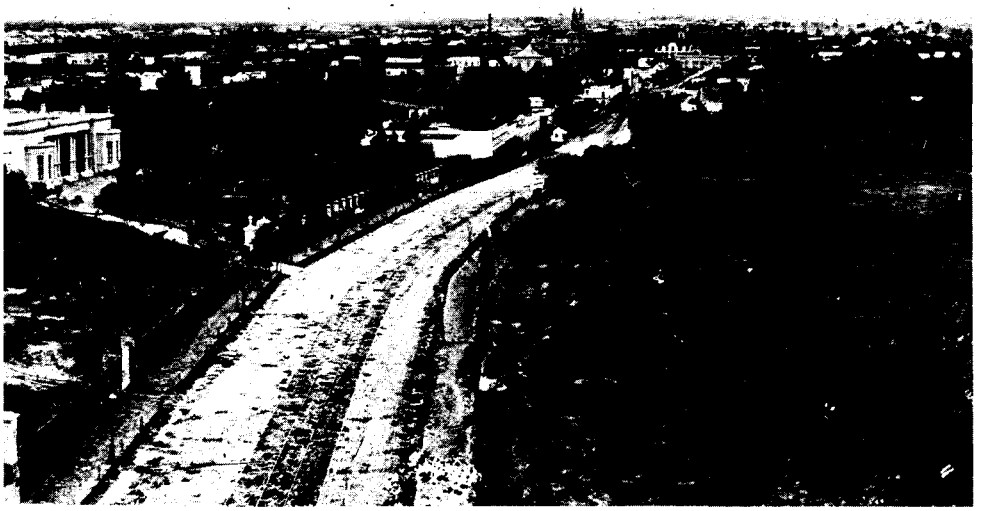


Fig. 6. A view taken ca. 1875, looking south toward Barracas along Calle Larga (subsequently renamed Avenida Montes de Oca), the main street linking this suburb to the central part of Buenos Aires. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, Colección Witcomb.



Fig. 7. A view taken in 1905, from the same spot as figure 6, looking south toward Barracas along Avenida Montes de Oca. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG.

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laborer began to aspire for his plot of land on the outskirts.[17] So did the sons and daughters, the second generation now tied to Argentina and to Buenos Aires by birth, education, and environment. These were the individuals who sought security and mobility in one- to three-room houses along the dirt streets that sprouted for six or seven blocks on each side of streetcar or railroad lines. As with the squatter settlements, however, cheap lands and easy terms of payment also brought penalties in the form of streets that became quagmires of mud when it rained, stagnant ponds of slaughterhouse residue, a nearly total lack of police protection, and the noise, dust, smoke, and smell of tanneries, distilleries, brick factories, and sawmills.

Two major economic booms, 1884–89 and 1905–12, encouraged the construction of modest worker dwellings as well as of public works, warehouses, railroads, mansions, and chalets. Real wages for the unmarried laborer, especially the skilled worker, or for the family with several teenaged and consequently employable children, increased slightly between 1905 and 1912. Fortunate workers could put aside as much as two or three days of wages per month. Home ownership thus came within the grasp of a number of workers. A suburban lot at the beginning of the twentieth century could be paid for with two hundred days of labor by a skilled mechanic, and a one-room house built for the equivalent of one hundred days of work, totaling an investment of roughly twelve to fifteen years of savings.[18] Auctioneers and landowners amassed fortunes from the sale of low-lying, often marginal lands on the city's fringe, but after 1900 they provided opportunities to purchase tiny lots with small monthly payments over six, eight, even twelve years. The rapid expansion of population and housing in census district number 1, which covered the whole southwest corner of the federal district with its nearly twenty-one square miles, gave evidence of those who advanced their social standing. Population had increased in this district from 17,000 in 1904, to 48,000 by 1909, and to 103,000 by 1914; of the 7,600 houses in 1909, 4,500 had three rooms or less; by 1914, out of a total of 13,900 houses, 9,300 fell into that modest category.

The move to the outskirts, occasionally by renting but more often through ownership of lot and house, brought personal improvements. The modest home, especially if built by the owner himself on holidays and Sundays, typically began with one room located five to ten yards back from the street. At one end was the kitchen, consisting merely of a brazier and a

[17] Additional investigation is needed to link this dream of land on the outskirts to the social and reform ideologies present in Buenos Aires. The suggestions that emerge from Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), cast light on this process in the United States and raise questions that still need to be answered in the case of Buenos Aires.

[18] Calculated on the basis of a daily wage of 2.50 gold pesos, the average for a skilled workman in the period from 1904 to 1912, and a monthly savings of two days' wages. Average suburban lots ranged in price from 200 to 500 gold pesos, while a one-room house could be built for the equivalent of 200 to 250 gold pesos.

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wooden shelf with some pans and dishes. Toward the back of the lot a well was sunk to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, while close to the house, and unfortunately too close to the well, was a latrine. At that stage it might appear that little had been gained over the *conventillo,* and indeed the conviviality of close neighbors, the bustle of downtown streets, and the closeness to work had been lost. But within a decade, with the lot paid for and the labor of his oldest children to swell the family income, this rising member among *porteño* blue-collar–white-collar workers could add two more rooms, usually bedrooms. In the second decade, with his younger daughters aspiring to some degree of social advancement, he might build a living room on the front of the house and bring his front door and windows flush with the recently constructed sidewalk.[19] Improved transportation, especially electrification and unification of the streetcar system between 1900 and 1910, speeded the outward movement. The *conventillo* provided a place to adapt to Argentine culture and customs. But one had to leave the *conventillo* in order to move upwards socially. Each immigrant wave—the French in the 1850s, the Italians in the 1870s, and the Spanish in the first decade of the twentieth century—occupied downtown *conventillos* for a decade or so. Once the adjustment had been made, the newcomer or his children were usually on their way toward the outskirts where lands or rents were cheap and where the dream of being a landowner and householder might be realized.

BECAUSE OF THE TENDENCY of a commercial-bureaucratic city to sprawl outward as the common man searches for cheap land and because the principal function of the downtown core is to serve the upper classes, the local neighborhood acquires particular significance and importance for the mass of the population. The outward expansion of Buenos Aires was really built around tiny neighborhoods that provided the social, psychological, and economic focus for the common man in much the same fashion that the downtown core served the upper classes. No censuses or statistical reports survey the neighborhood unit, since the barrio rested merely on the relationships and attitudes of its inhabitants. Only where isolation or ethnic characteristics imposed visible boundaries or distinctive atmosphere could the components of the barrio be measured. Beyond that the researcher must rely on local reminiscenses and draw conclusions from still existent barrio phenomena in the city.[20]

[19] Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *En la Argentina: Impresiones de 1918–19,* tr. Valentín Diego (Montevideo, 1920), 99–100.

[20] Treatment of some of these characteristics in an outlying and isolated barrio appears in the recollections of Lucas Benítez, *"Los Olivos:" Barracas al Norte, 1895–1960* (Buenos Aires, 1965). Contemporary newspaper accounts of conditions in the compact settlements or ghettos of Russian Jews and of Syrians, or *turcos,* add further insights. It is nearly impossible, however, to present the barrio phenomenon in precise, measurable terms. Some understanding of its existence emerges from examining the manuscript census returns for 1869 and 1895 (see

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The area of a barrio was small (see diagram 4). It rarely exceeded five blocks and more usually consisted of two or three; yet its population might range from fifty persons to three thousand. The elementary school provided a common denominator for a group of barrios, but school districts did not outline the barrio's area. Churches likewise served large sections of the city, and a parish might encompass from five to as many as fifty barrios. Butcher shops, grocery stores, and bakeries afforded meeting places for women and stimulated the sense of neighborhood. The grocery store, or *almacen,* especially in outlying areas, served as credit institution, post office, and social center. Here the women shopped, and the men gathered to exchange small talk or to read a newspaper. The area from which a store drew clientele provided, however, only one of several measurements to define the barrio. In more developed areas bars or cafés gave another basic link. For the workingman these were his clubs. The social communication and importance attached to these cafés by common people were as vital as membership in the Jockey Club was to the *porteño* elite.

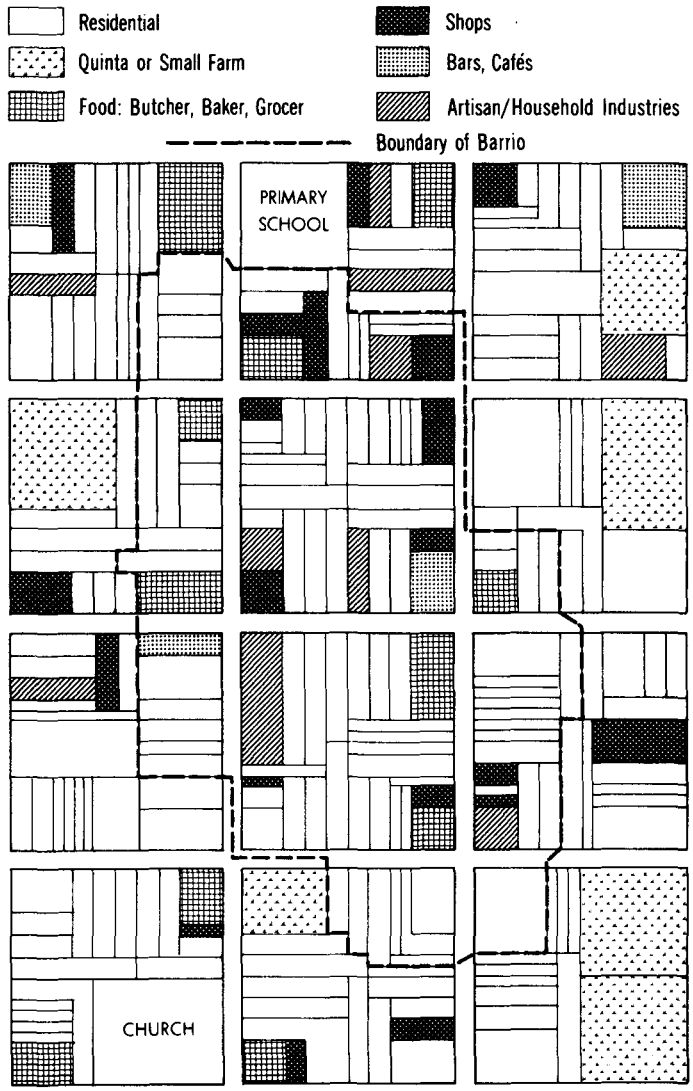
The attachments to the barrio, however, existed mainly at a surface level. The barrio brought with it little sense of cooperative effort or close personal contact between its inhabitants. Neighbors might gossip at the local store counter, or on hot summer evenings they might pull chairs out to their sidewalk entrance and exchange salutations and perhaps a few pleasantries with adjoining households. But the patio style of architecture and the sheltered and guarded home life that had characterized the affluent classes until the 1880s continued to be followed by the artisan, skilled-labor, and white-collar masses (figure 8 shows the street and house fronts of an established and prosperous barrio around 1900). While the three-patio design was not strictly adhered to, the result was a home that enclosed its members rather than turning them outward toward the street. Surveyors still used the earlier measure of ten *varas,* or 8.66 meters (28.4 feet), as a standard frontage. House lots, even when carved out of open fields, emerged as elongated rectangles with a depth three to six times the frontage. The owner tended to enclose this lot with an adobe or brick wall, which ran along the boundary lines, and to construct his building so the front door would open on the sidewalk. The inhabitants of a barrio, therefore, knew each other superficially and only infrequently entered one another's homes. Significantly, common action or cooperation to secure sewers, gas, electricity, or other local improvements occurred rarely and only when generated throughout a parish or group of barrios by some business or political spokesman.

The barrio, nevertheless, brought a type of village atmosphere to the

note 21 below). Its characteristics can be grasped by those who have lived in such small neighborhood units. Why does one patronize a grocery store at one end of the block, yet never enter another at the opposite end of the same block? Or why does one always go to one of two equidistant cafés? The barrio's description, therefore, owes much to personal experiences and local reminiscences.

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DIAGRAM 4. SCHEMATIC PLAN OF A TYPICAL PORTEÑO BARRIO



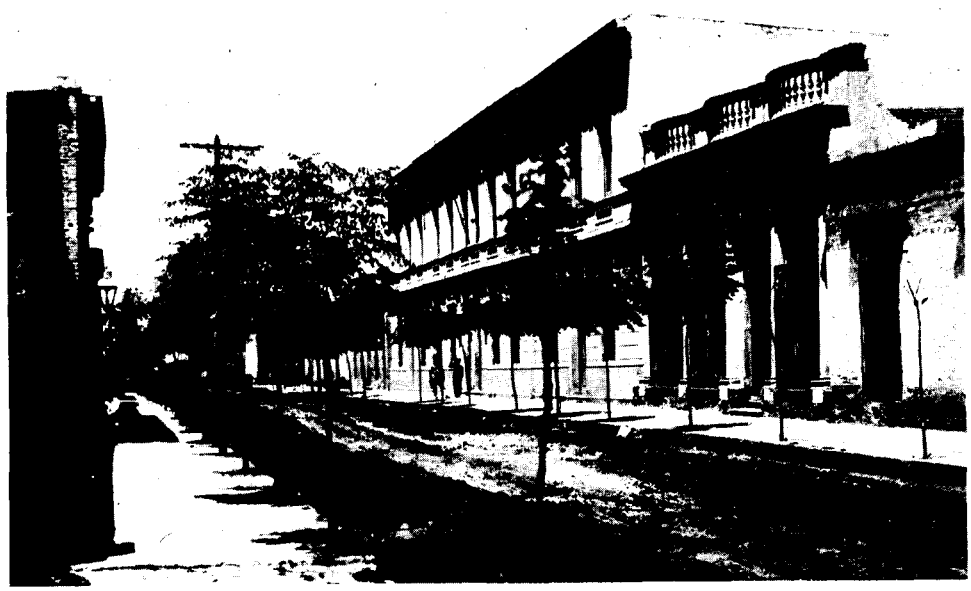


Fig. 8. An established barrio, ca. 1900, with sidewalks and substantial housing. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG.

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city. Before 1910 the place of work for shopkeepers and most skilled laborers and artisans was located in the same barrio as their residences. Others, particularly white-collar workers and day laborers, traveled to the central business district or port area to work but turned to the barrio for all other needs. The barrio protected the immigrant and native alike from the impersonality and tensions of a metropolis. In much the same way that the *conventillo* bridged the gap from the Old World to the New for many immigrants, so the barrio afforded attachments, amusements, and amenities in tiny units over the whole city. Individuals belonged to a particular barrio and only secondarily and in minor degree to a parish or the city. Many persons, especially women, rarely left the several blocks of their neighborhood.

The barrio changed continually with the rapid expansion of the city. It first began to display an ethnic character during the massive European immigration to the Río de la Plata that started in the 1860s. Within barrios subneighborhoods developed, often consisting merely of several adjacent households of Piedmontese, Neapolitan, or Genoese immigrants or of Asturian, Catalan, or Basque newcomers. Occupational groups tended to reproduce a similar pattern of subneighborhoods. Unpublished census returns tell of clusters of unskilled manual laborers, of artisans and skilled laborers, and of white-collar employees.[21]

By 1910 the barrio had reached the height of its psychological, social, and economic importance. In the vast reaches of Buenos Aires there remained innumerable small units, often possessing imprecise or changing boundaries and loyalties. The neighborhood workshop, grocery store, butcher shop, bakery, and café continued to play important roles in the lives of barrio dwellers. Local gossip, children's play, and elementary schooling still provided contact and satisfaction. One could stroll along shade-covered and mud-rutted streets within a few blocks of any of the city's thoroughfares and feel years removed from the metropolis. But the city had begun to supplement the barrio. New forces—increased educational facilities, broadening occupational opportunities, improved transportation, large downtown stores, and popularized entertainment—drew individuals out of the barrio. With the low, ten-centavo fare on streetcars, resulting from electrification and unification of the streetcar system in the first decade of the twentieth century, the common man could range further afield in search of work. He also on occasion took his family outside the barrio. The laboring masses, although only when dressed in their best

[21] These characteristics do not emerge in the published census returns because the size of census districts is too large, ranging from the smallest district in 1869 and 1887, which encompassed forty blocks or one-quarter of a square mile, to the largest district in 1895, 1904, 1909, and 1914, covering twenty-one square miles. Visual inspection of the manuscript census returns for 1869 and 1895, just recently uncovered in the Archivo General de la Nación, provides the basis for these statements. I am starting systematic analysis of this data, especially for the blocks closest to the Plaza de Mayo, in order to establish the spatial and social characteristics of the city's growth.

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clothes, began to stroll the downtown avenues. The huge sums spent on horse races and other forms of gambling, the gradual improvement of the *porteño* parks, the audiences drawn to circuses, musical reviews, theatrical farces, lectures, and the increasingly popular Sunday pastime of marches and demonstrations all suggest that the barrio was losing some influence in the lives of its residents.

But even with such changes the barrio retained certain aspects of its vitality. In the Buenos Aires of the 1970s the downtown center attracts *porteños* of many backgrounds and social classes for business or amusement. The growth of secondary centers in the suburbs provides additional and often more convenient places for the concentration of marketing and entertainment facilities. But most city dwellers still attach themselves to an area of several blocks, which contains the institutions they most frequently use and where they feel at home.

THE DEDICATION TO TRADE and administration within a city requires a broad spread of occupations from manual through blue-collar–white-collar. The outward sprawl of the commercial-bureaucratic city, the absence of concentrated industrial zones, and the opportunity for social mobility throughout a whole range of occupational categories tend to postpone the sense of belonging to a particular class or classes among nonelite groups. The small numbers of elite individuals needed to control land, commerce, and government are closely interrelated by family ties. They possess, furthermore, a virtual monopoly on higher education and sizable fortunes as well as a clear class consciousness separating them from the rest of society.

In Latin America the application of a three-class model—upper, middle, and lower—has long troubled historians as well as political scientists and sociologists.[22] Although such categories seem to have some value once industry has developed or subgroups become conscious of common interests, the categories tend to confuse understanding of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century social realities. Even today these categories have little relevance to Paraguay, Haiti, and several of the Central American republics. More appropriate to the late nineteenth-century *porteño* scene, therefore, are terms that point to the sharp social distinction between those with family, education, and wealth, namely the upper classes, and the vast range of occupational strata filled by the common man or worker.

The upper classes possessed class consciousness and saw themselves

[22] John J. Johnson, *Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors* (Stanford, 1958), has applied the model with some misgivings and difficulties to the Latin American scene. Works such as Gino Germani, *Estructura social de la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1955), and his *Política y sociedad en una época de transición de la sociedad tradicional a la sociedad de las masas* (Buenos Aires, 1962); Claudio Veliz, ed., *Obstacles to Change in Latin America* (New York, 1965); and Irving L. Horowitz, ed., *Masses in Latin America* (New York, 1970), suggest further problems with the application of such a model.

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as those who controlled Argentina. Below them, however, it is difficult to discover any homogeneity, common interests, group identification, or even any realistic subdivisions. The common man in Buenos Aires knew he did not belong to the upper classes, but he rarely considered himself a member of any class category.[23] He fitted into a particular occupational stratum. Between strata there might be considerable differentiation in training, income, and status. But there also existed considerable mobility.

In the Argentine context, therefore, the best classifier of social structure is occupation. It reflects the primary factor of differentiation, the family, which in turn largely determines other components such as education and wealth. Occupation also can be readily extracted from published census reports.

The professional, administrative, and owner groups of society constituted the upper classes. Within this elite fell the lawyers and other professionals such as physicians, architects, engineers, and accountants; students at university and *colegio* (roughly high school–junior college) level; ranchers and cattlemen; owners of large industrial and commercial establishments; and heads of sections or offices in the government bureaucracy.[24] The occupational breakdown for the male population over fourteen years of age taken from the censuses of 1887, 1895, 1904, 1909, and 1914 (see table 2) indicates that between 4 and 5 per cent qualified as upper class in the city.[25]

[23] By the end of the period under discussion an awareness or consciousness of class had begun to appear in certain highly unionized trades and occupations in the city of Buenos Aires, as evidenced by strike manifestoes, anarchist propaganda, labor department reports, Socialist party activity, and other signs of labor solidarity. See Hobart A. Spalding, Jr., ed., *La clase trabajadora argentina: Documentos para su historia, 1890–1912* (Buenos Aires, 1970), and Sebastián Marotta, *El movimiento sindical argentino*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1960–70).

[24] Overlaps, discrepancies, and disagreement inevitably arise when one manipulates gross figures that provide no indication of the most easily quantifiable factor, namely wealth or income. For that reason I have counted only those categories that can be accepted as elite or prestige positions in early twentieth-century Argentina. From the extensive list of occupations given in the 1914 national census (4: 201–12) I have selected the following as upper class: *criadores, cabañeros, estancieros, hacendados, invernadores, banqueros, capitalistas, empresarios, exportadores, gerentes, importadores, clérigos, sacerdotes, abogados, contadores públicos, escribanos, procuradores, dentistas, médicos, químicos, estudiantes secundarios y universitarios, profesores de ensenanza secundaria y universitaria, agrimensores, agrónomos, doctores, escritores, ingenieros, matemáticos, periodistas, péritos.* These categories or easily recognizable substitutes appear in all the preceding censuses. In such a list, however, appears no specific enumeration of heads of government offices or owners of major industrial and commercial establishments, since there is no reliable measure from census data to establish the percentage or number of such positions as distinct from government employees, artisans, or shopkeepers in general. Several assumptions are made in justification of this omission: that the numbers of top bureaucrats and wealthy owners, as developed from other sources such as almanacs and city directories, were small and did not amount, even in 1914, to more than one thousand individuals; that inclusion of individuals in categories on the borderline of elite status such as *contadores públicos, procuradores,* and *periodistas* balance some of those omitted in administrative and owner functions; and, most important, that given the role of professional titles and landed wealth in Argentina, a large proportion of the elite administrative-owner category will appear under headings of *banqueros, capitalistas, empresarios, abogados, escribanos,* and *ingenieros* or as *estancieros* and *hacendados.*

[25] Women have been omitted from these calculations since a valid sense of the social structure as related to occupation in Argentina can only be secured at this time from male em-

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TABLE 2. PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OVER FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE IN THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES, DISTRIBUTED BY SOCIAL STRUCTURE[a]

	1887	*1895*	*1904*	*1909*	*1914*
Elite or Upper Classes[b]	4.3%	4.5%	5.1%	4.3%	4.5%
Blue-Collar–White-Collar[b]	63.3	66.7	69.9	72.7	71.1
Manual Labor[b]	32.4	28.8	25.0	23.0	24.4
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	156,900	234,000	312,800	462,300	597,800
less secondary and university students not listed in census in 1887	−2,700				
	154,200				
plus individuals listed as "unclassified" in census	+20,300	+18,100	+21,800	+25,700	+29,100
Total numbers of individuals registered by census	174,500	252,100	334,600	488,000	626,900

[a] Calculations based on *Censo general de la ciudad de Buenos Aires de 1887*, 2: 43–47, 541–42; *de 1904*, 55–63; *de 1909*, 1: 53–60; *Censo nacional de 1895*, 2: 47–50; *de 1914*, 4: 201–12.

[b] See footnotes 24, 26, and 27 and pages 1056–64 for descriptions of these three categories of the social structure.

TABLE 3. FOREIGN-BORN MALES AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MALE POPULATION OVER FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE EMPLOYED IN MAJOR CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE[a]

	1887	*1895*	*1904*	*1909*	*1914*
Elite or Upper Classes[b]	25%	31%	26%	29%	19%
Blue-Collar–White-Collar[b]	79%	70%	67%	64%	65%
Manual Labor[b]	79%	82%	79%	68%	86%

[a] Calculations are based on the same sources as in table 2. The base for each percentage entry is the absolute figure that could be calculated for that entry in table 2.

[b] For descriptions of these three categories of the social structure, see footnotes 24, 26, and 27, and pages 1056–64.

Distinctions among groups below the upper classes are more difficult to make without resorting to the nearly four hundred nonelite occupational

ployment. With the exception of some primary school teachers and a few clerical jobs, all employed women fell into the lower reaches of the occupational scale—as seamstresses, laundry women, and servants. As mentioned earlier, it is well to remember that the number of males in the upper classes does not equal the number of independent households. Because of extended families among the elite the number of males in these classes should be divided by at least four in order to estimate households.

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categories listed in the national census of 1914. For the purposes of this study the only distinction made among nonelite occupations is that of the manual dependent laborers whose outstanding characteristic was physical toil. These individuals at the bottom of the occupational ladder included stevedores, porters, unskilled constructions workers, dockmen, cartmen, house servants, street cleaners, and day laborers generally.[26] Once this purely manual labor group, numbering between 20 and 30 per cent of the employed males in the city, is removed, there remains a wide range of semiskilled and skilled laborers, artisans, small shopkeepers, machinists, and white-collar employees in government and commerce. Consequently within these two-thirds of the employed males in the city, broadly categorized as blue-collar–white-collar, existed such variations as bookkeepers and carpenters, primary school teachers and butchers, grocery store owners and streetcar conductors, or government clerks and bakers.[27]

These statistics further suggest that the foreign born posed no threat to Argentine social structure. The native born predominated in the upper classes. Foreigners among the upper classes entered Argentina as managers, directors, or technicians, and consequently claimed that status on the basis of family, education, and wealth. In the period from 1880 to 1910 roughly one-quarter of the upper classes were foreign born. On the other hand, immigrants comprised approximately 80 per cent of the unskilled labor force and two-thirds of the blue-collar–white-collar sector (see table 3). By 1914 the Italian and Spanish immigrants who entered the system at the bottom outnumbered the native born as manual laborers by a ratio of 6:1. Further up the scale the proportion of foreigner to native had gradually declined from 4:1 in 1887 to 2:1 by 1914, largely due to the inclusion of sons of immigrants in the ranks of the native born.

Considerable aspiration and mobility existed within the broad spectrum of nonelite occupations. As long as urban construction and the agricultural export market boomed, the upward climb in three generations from an illiterate, immigrant stevedore to an Argentine-born bank clerk with a few years of *colegio* education seems to have occurred quite frequently.[28] Only in extremely rare cases, however, by dint of parental

[26] A list of occupations with at least one thousand males (asterisk when over ten thousand) over fourteen years of age in the 1914 census registers *carreros, cocheros, *personal de servicio, marinos, militares, *jornaleros, *peones, vendedores ambulantes.*

[27] A list of blue-collar–white-collar occupations with at least one thousand males (asterisk when over ten thousand) over fourteen years of age in the 1914 census registers *agricultores, jardineros, *albañiles, aparadores, aprendices, carboneros, carniceros, *carpinteros, confiteros, constructores, curtidores, ebanistas, electricistas, encuadernadores, estibadores, foguistas, fundidores, gasistas, *herreros, hojalateros, industriales, lecheros, maquinistas, marmoleros, *mecánicos, mosaiqueros, muebleros, operarios, panaderos, peluqueros, *pintores, *sastres, sombrereros, talabateros, tipógrafos, yeseros, *zapateros, *comerciantes, corredores, dependientes, *empleados de comercio, repartidores, tenedores, conductores, empleados de ferrocarril, empleados de tranvía, guardas de tranvía, motormen, telegrafistas, rentistas, *empleados de gobierno, jubilados, maestros de escuela primaria, dibujantes, escultores, músicos, *empleados en general.*

[28] The absence of comparable data from the Argentine censuses and the large interval between the two national censuses for which manuscript returns are available (1869 and 1895) may

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Fig. 9. Recently arrived European immigrants receiving a free meal at the immigrants' asylum, ca. 1910. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, SFAA.



Fig. 10. A view of the Avenida de Mayo, corner of Bolívar just off the Plaza de Mayo, in 1900. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, SFAA.

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Fig. 11. A workingmen's streetcar in 1912. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG.

sacrifice toward education, by extraordinary financial success, or by an advantageous marriage could such a rapid climb boost an individual across the barrier into the upper classes. As noted above, the upper-class, foreign-born individual almost always possessed those necessary class attributes before entering Argentina.

The common man of Bueno Aires in the late nineteenth century sought to display his material advancement. Appearance, especially in clothing, became exceedingly important in order to show the world that one was "on the way up." A Spanish visitor in 1904 noted that one virtually did not see "workers" on the streets.[29] Clothes literally made the man. As reported in a revealing newspaper account in 1902, the well-dressed man could go anywhere, but appear in a worker's blouse at the halls of congress or at a bank and all doors would shut.[30] The differences in concern with dress between those "just off the boat" and those who had begun "to climb the ladder" are graphically shown by the views of recently arrived immigrants in the dining hall of the immigrants' asylum and of pedestrians a block from the Plaza de Mayo along the Avenida de Mayo (figures 9 and 10). Everyone sought to hide the link with manual labor. In the first decade of the twentieth century special workingmen's cars, in effect open

preclude quantified evidence along the lines suggested for the United States by Stephan Thernstrom in *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

[29] Federico Rahola, *Sangre nueva: Impresiones de un viaje a la América del Sud* (Barcelona, 1905), 83.

[30] *La Prensa*, Aug. 12, 1902, p. 4.

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vehicles equipped only with wooden benches or sometimes just flatcars, began to be coupled to regular streetcars during the early morning or late afternoon hours. On these one could ride at half price. Often, however, these cars went nearly empty, or even when they were filled the passengers rarely sported workingmen's garb but rather the traditional coat and tie (note the dress of workers in figure 11). Even Peronist efforts in the 1940s and 1950s to dignify labor with one's hands encountered subtle resistance among construction workers who arrived at and left their jobs in coats and ties, with their work pants and blouses neatly tucked away in briefcases. This spirit found further expression in the egalitarianism evident among the widely different nonelite occupations. In the public mind and in the numerous contemporary and popular *sainetes,* or one-act plays, no one was innately superior to another and anyone might rise to the top. Often the *sainetes* suggested that in this type of "democracy" advancement came not so much by means of drudgery, economy, or the use of one's hands as by luck and wits.

In contrast to the egalitarianism and materialism proclaimed at the workingman's level, among the upper classes these values and the search for economic advancement had to be disguised. The fortune created by the ingenuity of that one-in-a-million immigrant acquired respectability only in the hands of his children or preferably his grandchildren. Commercial wealth presented a better face when transformed into cattle or sheep ranches. Even a corporation lawyer or congressman was supposed to be more interested in Fénelon or Monet than in fees or constituents.[31]

Yet while the means of acquiring wealth had to be camouflaged, its possession was increasingly and ostentatiously paraded. The simple style of the Argentine elite until the 1870s was swallowed up by the *petit hôtel* and the palace. Those persons whose fortunes had been inflated by the rising value of land built one mansion on their cattle ranches, another on an elegant residential street in Barrio Norte, and a summer house along the estuary north of the city (figures 12 and 13 show typical examples of a palace and a summer home built in the late nineteenth century). The modest and closely guarded family life of earlier years gave way to a gaudy social whirl, highlighted by sumptuous feasts and splendid parties. The golden wedding anniversary of the Guerricos in 1906 titillated even a blasé *porteño* society: hundreds of workmen transformed the family garden into one vast salon fully equipped with gas heating, electric lights, and running water; twelve hundred guests, including the president, sat down to a feast that started off with tiny woodcocks stuffed with *pâté de foie* and chestnuts and reached its climax with the invariable

[31] Suggestive of these attitudes are the recollections found in Ramón Columba, *El congreso que yo he visto,* 3 vols. (2d ed.; Buenos Aires, 1953–55), 1: 53; Antonio J. Pérez Amuchastegui, *Mentalidades argentinas, 1860–1930* (Buenos Aires, 1965); and Julia V. Bunge, *Vida: Época maravillosa, 1903–1911* (Buenos Aires, 1965).

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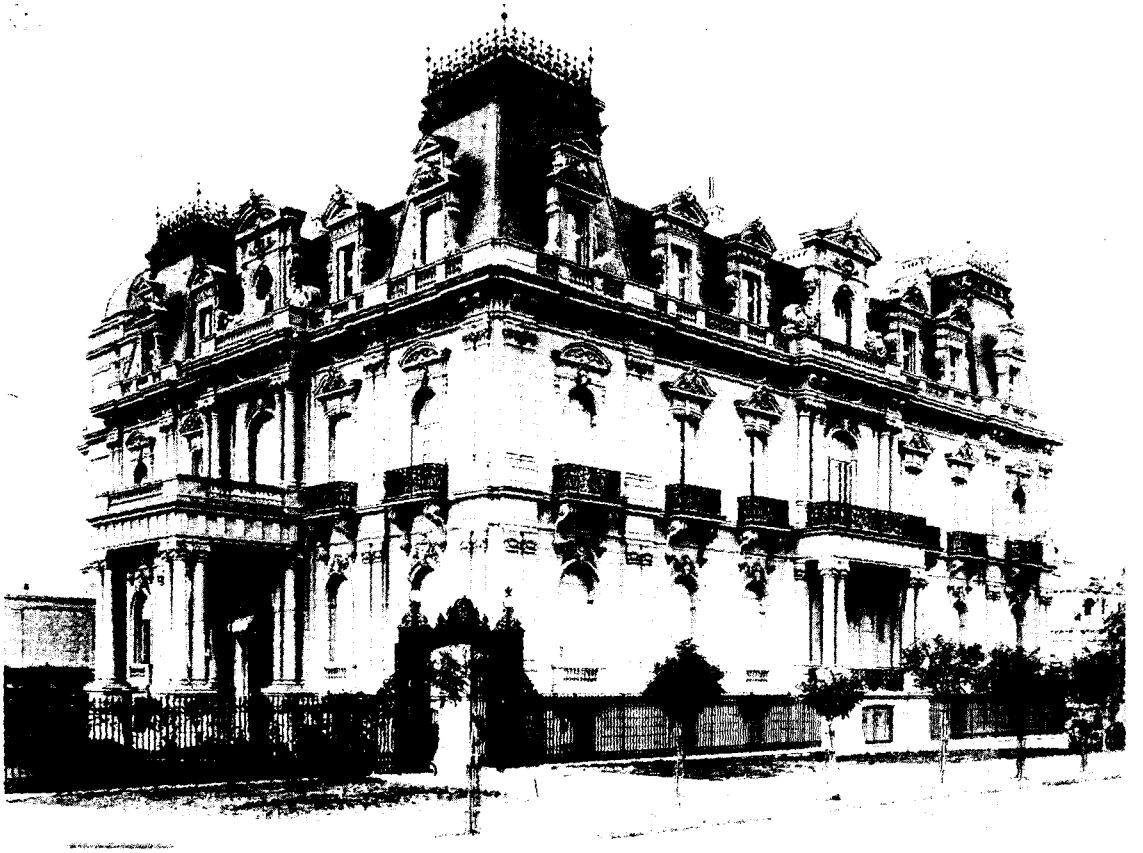


Fig. 12. The palace of the Peña family built in 1903 in Barrio Norte at Arenales and Maipú. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, SFAA.



Fig. 13. The summer house of the Rodríguez family built ca. 1895 in Almagro. Photograph courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación, AG, Colección Witcomb.

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Moët Chandon at dessert.[32] In dress, art collections, furniture, table service, and carriages the Argentine wealthy appeared determined to copy the nobility of Europe. Despite Catholic precepts few of this class felt much relation to the hordes of dirty, uneducated immigrants who swarmed in the downtown slums. Reform ideologies, freshly introduced from Europe, flowed in genteel discussions over brandy and coffee at the Jockey Club or were aired on the floor of congress. But most of the upper classes viewed laborers as little more than work animals. Characteristically the Sociedad Rural Argentina, the association of the country's major livestock growers, established a prize in 1896 to be awarded for the design of a ship's hold that could transport cattle on the hoof to Europe and return loaded with immigrants.[33]

By the 1930s the growth of industry and the increasing political activity of such groups as labor unions helped to promote a social structure in Buenos Aires more similar to the three-class model. The city, nevertheless, had been characterized by the sharp social distinction of the upper classes from the broad mass of common people long after economic prosperity suggested a more thoroughly bourgeois society. Attitudes toward class, manual labor, materialism, and egalitarianism sprang from Latin or Hispanic backgrounds, but they also received reinforcement from the commercial-bureaucratic heritage.

SINCE THE COMMERICAL-BUREAUCRATIC CITY relies for its stimulus and growth largely on an externally dependent agricultural economy, it follows that continuation of the commercial-bureaucratic orientation is linked to the prosperous expansion of agricultural exports and the importation of manufactured goods, capital, and immigrants. A final characteristic of this type of city, therefore, is that the very prosperity of the exchange arrangements postpones industrialization.

Despite the bustle and prosperity of the Buenos Aires environment in 1910, nothing stimulated industrialization, encouraged import substitution, or prodded landowners or merchants to invest capital in factories. The political structure of the city as well as that of the nation remained firmly in the hands of upper classes whose traditions and wealth came from landowning, commerce, or politics. Immigrant labor dedicated itself to retail commerce, crafts, construction work, harvest labor, or menial services. Foreign and domestic investment entered real estate and commerce, was lent to national, provincial, or municipal governments, or financed railroads, utilities, and port works. The exchange of wool, cereals, meats, and hides for manufactured items appeared to be good business, at least until the 1930s. The barriers against foreign imports, essential to industrial development, could not be built as long

[32] *La Prensa,* Aug. 14, 1906, p. 8.
[33] *La Agricultura,* Aug. 20, 1896, p. 620.

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as Argentina and Buenos Aires remained so dependent on foreign markets for the sale of agricultural products and the purchase of consumer goods.

Certain industries flourished, but only those endeavors related to Argentina's export business received major inputs of capital and technology. Flour mills and meat-packing plants, along with a few consumer-goods industries such as breweries and manufacturers of shoes and biscuits, represented the only establishments employing skilled operatives, complex machinery, and electrical energy. Furthermore many of these plants were owned by foreign corporations or were largely dependent on foreign credit. The bulk of so-called industry remained scattered around the city, in small home workshops employing fewer than ten laborers and owned by immigrants who brought with them a small hoard of skills and tools. Although reserves of technical and entrepreneurial abilities were thus accumulated and safeguarded, no forces promoted modernized and diversified industry. Tax structures, tariff rates, and credit operations all conspired against an independent and influential industrial class.

In addition to these economic forces the very success of the commercial-bureaucratic orientation fostered values that, although not anti-industrial, did little to stimulate industrialization. Manual labor continued to be held in disrepute. Aside from the upper classes there existed little cohesiveness or awareness of group interests among the population. Family and personal relationships predominated. The immigrant continued to be looked upon as a manual laborer and little else, even by the second-generation children of immigrant parents.

Such values remained unshaken by the massive European immigration to Argentina. Immigrants contributed labor but politically remained outside the system. The dream of Italian and Spanish laborers was *hacer la América,* or the achievement of rapid economic success in the New World, not political expression. In addition local police and election officials actively discouraged naturalization by the foreign born. Skillful obstruction by means of red tape and procrastination voided the liberal naturalization laws and the flowery rhetoric voiced in the halls of congress. Finally there was the undeniable fact that the foreigner gained virtually no privileges by naturalization. As a resident alien he could work or conduct business on an equal footing with the native-born Argentine. He could move around the country, marry, and own property as freely as any Argentine citizen. In the city of Buenos Aires he could even vote in municipal elections. And as a foreigner he was not subject to the military service required of all adult males after the turn of the century. Hence, despite exhortations by the Socialist party and other groups, naturalized citizens in Buenos Aires in 1904, 1909, and 1914 represented only 2, 2.5, and 4 per cent respectively of the city's foreign-born male population—in striking contrast to figures that frequently reached 50 per cent in United States cities.

In like manner the school system, while spreading the benefits of one

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or two years of primary education to most children in Buenos Aires, continued to be highly elitist in structure. At the beginning of the twentieth century only 5 per cent of those pupils who began first grade completed the six elementary years. One explanation for this can be found in the predominant attitude expressed by a national congressman in 1907: "The child is in school—and in a very healthy one—when he is in the workshop and has a tool in his hand."[34] Among the common people only parents who had financial resources and who valued education enormously could push a child through the narrow funnel of primary education into the still narrower funnel of the *colegio* and finally into the professional preparation of the university. The cost itself of such education might not be prohibitive, but few could forego their children's services until the completion of *colegio* at the age of eighteen or nineteen or the university at twenty-three or twenty-four.

The educational system also reinforced elite traditions. For the mass of school children who completed only the first or second grade, a principal thrust of the curriculum lay in the indoctrination of Argentine patriotism and values. As the nineteenth century drew to a close and legislators and educators became more concerned about the flood of European immigrants entering the country, the symbols of flag, nation, independence, and Argentine greatness acquired a predominant position. As one Spanish observer noted, the whole purpose of the Argentine school seemed to be the preparation of the child to celebrate the national independence days of May 25 and July 9.[35] Beyond these initial years of primary school, which also gave pupils a rudimentary degree of literacy, the training became humanistic and classical. Preparation then was geared to entrance into the *colegio,* where literature, philosophy, and languages received particular attention. Technical education tended to be for orphans or other wards of the state, and applied sciences and technology continued to receive low priority in Argentina until well after 1910. Those who emerged from *colegio* training in Buenos Aires prior to 1910 were perhaps the best read and most literate students in the Western Hemisphere, but they had received relatively little orientation or stimulus toward questions involving innovation or the everyday world around them.

The upper classes also received significant assistance from the sons and daughters of immigrant parents in maintaining existing values. Most immigrants arrived in Argentina between the ages of twenty and forty. Their spouses usually came from the same country of origin or were Argentines born of immigrant parents. Most immigrants were of peasant backgrounds or came from the lower levels of the urban working classes in Italy and Spain. Argentine values thus echoed certain aspects of their

[34] Antonio Piñero, June 26, 1907, Cámara de Diputados, *Sesiones, 1907,* 1: 138.
[35] Adolfo Posada, *La República Argentina* (Madrid, 1912), 224.

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own cultural baggage: the dominance of the male, admiration of virility, and acceptance of the gulf between the elite and the common people. In Buenos Aires the vast majority of immigrant men engaged in grinding manual labor twelve hours a day, six days a week, while women took on monotonous piecework, laundering, ironing, or domestic service in addition to raising a family. The children of these immigrants received great incentives and pressures from the host culture to conform to Argentine ways, even more so if the mother were Argentine born. Epithets of *gringo* or *gallego* might bounce harmlessly off the immigrants' ears, but they sank their shafts deeply into many of the children.[36] If the father mutilated Spanish with his Gallic or Genoese phrases, the son roared with laughter at the *sainetes* that caricatured the clumsy immigrant. The son also admirably slurred the local slang. If the father proudly wore a beret, enjoyed an afternoon at the *bocce* court with his cronies, or hungered for *paella* to celebrate a special occasion, it was certain that his son sought in dress, amusements, and food to avoid anything that might identify him as a foreigner and, if possible, as a laborer. Even the grinding toil of the father seemed to find rejection in the continued denigration of manual labor and the apparent reliance on other methods of getting ahead—the long shot, the assist from friends, or the stroke of luck. At the beginning of the twentieth century newspapers and even government officials began to express concern at one symptom—the tremendous surge of gambling on lotteries, horse races, and other sports. In the decade of the 1890s, at a moment when the Argentine economy was anything but flourishing, the *porteño* public had invested nearly half a billion pesos in gambling, or approximately one-fifth of the country's total exports for the decade.[37]

These values supplemented the powerful economic incentives that encouraged and rewarded *porteños* in their administrative and trade functions. Because of the very success of these values in the period from 1880 to 1910, the commercial-bureaucratic orientation helped the export-import economy further delay the need for industrialization.

THE UNPARALLELED AND PREVIOUSLY UNEXPLOITED productivity of Argentina's pampas region in the late nineteenth century redounded to *porteño* benefit and not to the growth of the rural or hinterland regions. The success of the accompanying commercial-bureaucratic orientation at Buenos Aires reinforced certain spatial and mental characteristics and helped en-

[36] In the Argentine context the *gringo,* or Italian, represented society's drudge, determined to make a fortune in America and consequently unable to enjoy any of life's pleasures. The *gallego,* or generically the Spaniard, was usually characterized as an inoffensive and somewhat stupid workhorse. Also see Gladys Onega, *La inmigración en la literatura argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1969).

[37] *La Prensa,* Aug. 19, 1901, p. 5.

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sure that Argentina remain locked into an agricultural economy and external dependence at least until the 1930s. The reliance on a tiny downtown core that largely continued as the elite's place of residence; the location of tenement housing in the central part of the city; the outward spread of the common man toward the city's fringe; the extreme importance to urban life of the local neighborhood and its institutions; the marked separation of the upper classes from the broad spectrum of blue-collar–white-collar and manual laborers; the delay of industrialization brought on by the advantages of exchanging agricultural goods for manufactured commodities—all these effectively contributed to the prosperity, pleasantness, and stability of the *porteño* environment from 1880 to 1910. Not until the world depression of the early 1930s emphasized the impact of declining yields from the undercapitalized rural sector, accelerated the drying-up of outside sources of immigrants and capital, and caused a decline in European demand for pampas products did the shortcomings of such an orientation become apparent.

Despite attempts since 1930 at state planning, subsidization of industry, and regional diversification, the commercial-bureaucratic heritage has proved hard to dispel. The city of Buenos Aires still shows its effects. Settlement patterns in the federal district have not basically changed since 1910. The central business district provides commercial, financial, administrative, cultural, and amusement services for the upper and upper-middle classes in the same small area. *Conventillos* survive downtown, while shanty towns, or *villas miserias,* ring the outskirts. Increasingly the wealthy have moved out to the northern river bank beyond the federal district, although many cluster in Barrio Norte. Industry has concentrated on the south side and beyond the federal district to the west and the south, but small plants and workshops remain scattered throughout the city, even close to the Plaza de Mayo. The barrio has lost considerable psychological and economic significance in an age when work, school, and play push inhabitants outward, but for several million *porteños* it still represents the basic outlook of their daily life. The city, with its overwhelming commercial, administrative, and now industrial preponderance, has drawn talents, resources, and products to itself. This success has exacted a price in strained railroads and congested port facilities. The head continues to rest on an extended but underdeveloped body, while new economic zones or other urban areas appear slowly or assume secondary roles. Even industry, accepted since 1930 as one of Argentina's needs, has received limited inputs of capital and technology.

Despite the growth of Buenos Aires as a metropolis, the city's social structure and values have changed slowly. The class system has become more complex, and a middle sector has emerged. But these middle groups lack unity and continue to imitate the upper classes. From another perspective political authorities fear the laboring class and seek to repress it. Attitudes toward manual labor, social distinctions, or materialism

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recall those of sixty years ago. The social and educational patterns reflect much of the values of an earlier age.

To a marked degree the experience of Buenos Aires, springing out of Argentina's agricultural economy and external dependence, has been replicated in other Argentine cities. In the late nineteenth century population had begun to move from the countryside toward the towns and cities. The urban-rural ratio (based on 2,000 inhabitants as the smallest urban unit) changed from 25:75 per cent in 1869 to 53:47 per cent by 1914. Ports such as Rosario or Bahía Blanca (223,000 and 44,000 population, respectively); provincial capitals turned railroad centers such as Córdoba, Tucumán, or Mendoza (135,000, 91,000, and 59,000); administrative capitals and provincial markets such as Salta or Catamarca (28,000 and 13,000); or small rail and local trade nuclei such as Río Cuarto or Junín (30,000 and 21,000)—all these by 1914 shared strikingly similar demographic, physical, and ecological patterns. Each received migrants and raw materials from its immediate area and transmitted them along with capital toward the coast, primarily toward Buenos Aires. Each had its small elite of landowners, merchants, bureaucrats, and professionals. In each the residences and activities of the elite centered on the plaza, while nonelite groups spread outward in search of cheaper lands. The commercial-bureaucratic outlook dominated the secondary cities in Argentina and made them way stations for channeling goods, services, and capital toward Buenos Aires.

The timing and indeed the initial prosperity of the rapid growth of Buenos Aires from 1880 to 1910 contributed to the nation's contemporary problems. Buenos Aires entered the twentieth century as a cosmopolitan metropolis drawing from the provinces and from its position between the pampas and Europe. The city's monopoly of human resources, its social structure, and its lack of an industrial base owed much to the way the Argentine economy had developed around exploitation of the pampas. Economic success available to the upper classes and in more limited fashion to the common man brought an air of complacency that hung over Buenos Aires for several decades. The promise of continued expansion that *porteño* growth had forecast began to dissipate, however, by 1930. A static per capita gross national product, a sterile political conflict, and subsequently a people's loss of faith in their future revealed the handicaps of agriculture/external dependency for the nation and of a commercial-bureaucratic orientation for the cities. The nation as a whole had not received an adequate share of the gains from the spectacular growth of its cities, especially from that of its capital and principal port. That city's orientation during its late nineteenth-century period of rapid expansion had further ill prepared Argentina for changing patterns of world trade, for industrialization, or for popular rule.[38]

[38] Philip M. Hauser suggests in slightly different terms that in underdeveloped nations such a single major city frequently grows excessively because of its position as entrepôt between the

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THE EFFECTS OF AN agricultural economy and external dependence on urban growth undoubtedly have taken many different forms. This article describes one result, characterized as commercial-bureaucratic and experienced at Buenos Aires in the late nineteenth century. I have not embarked on the extensive research needed to compare or contrast this particular experience with those of other cities that emerged under similar economic conditions. The experience of Buenos Aires, however, doubtless has parallels elsewhere.[39] In order to suggest possibilities for further study, I conclude with a resumé of generalized characteristics that develop from the agricultural and external dependency features of a region's economy and from the self-reinforcing aspects of the commercial-bureaucratic orientation.

First, the elite tends to reside at the city's core. Commercial activities and political administration of the city and hinterland, as well as the financial, social, and intellectual services for the elite, remain extraordinarily concentrated at this core. Second, newcomers to the city cluster for several years in high-density slums at the city's center, often interspersed with or adjacent to the residences of the well-to-do. Third, in the absence of large industrial establishments, the tendency of nonelite groups is to push outward, seeking cheap lands, individual homes, and often ownership—that is, upward mobility—in outlying areas. As a result the city, barring geographical obstacles, sprawls rather than growing upward or developing particularly concentrated settlements. Fourth, in the outward thrust numerous self-contained neighborhood units develop, which provide economic and social services for the nonelite inhabitants. Many individuals find employment in small workshops and stores within the neighborhood where they reside. All inhabitants form social and psychological ties to neighborhood institutions and identify first with their individual neighborhood rather than with larger political or religious units or with the city itself. Fifth, in social structure the upper classes remain distinct from the common people. Considerable mobility exists among the multitude of manual, blue-collar, and white-collar occupations. The upper classes occasionally recruit from below on the basis of wealth, education, or family connections, but they permit no challenge to the existing values. And sixth, as long as world markets absorb the area's agricultural products and manufactured imports remain available, no

"colony" and the imperial country. Disruption of the imperial system often leads to some loss of the city's basic economic function. "To the extent that this has occurred, such cities must await further national economic growth adequately to support their present size." "Urbanization: An Overview," in Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, eds., *The Study of Urbanization* (New York, 1965), 36.

[39] One such parallel appears in the "commercial city" described by John W. McCarty, "Australian Capital Cities in the Nineteenth Century," *Australian Economic History Review*, 10 (1970): 107–37. In addition to Australia, the study of certain urban centers in the Southern United States and in South Africa might yield interesting parallels or contrasts to the *porteño* experience.

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pressures develop to industrialize or to alter the profitable dedication of human resources within the city to trade and administration.

Further research into other urban experiences may reveal if these characteristics of the Argentine case appear in other cities that develop within an agricultural hinterland, serve as the major commercial and administrative center for their region, and depend overwhelmingly on immigration, foreign capital, and foreign markets for expansion. Such investigation and comparison may also clarify whether the commercial-bureaucratic orientation holds back a city and its hinterland from adjusting to a changing world environment. In the Argentine case, at least, this orientation seems to have served as a brake on national development.

APPENDIX:
A Note on the Nature of the Commercial-Bureaucratic City

AT THIS STAGE of research it would be imprudent to assign precise values to the degree of commercial and administrative dedication required to qualify a city as commercial-bureaucratic. Two indicators available in many nineteenth- and twentieth-century urban sources—the amounts of labor and capital involved in various sectors of the economy—suggest that such indicators could be developed. As a preliminary step several measurements that apply in Buenos Aires are advanced for consideration as variables to be refined and extended by research in cities elsewhere.

From the published Argentine census reports it is difficult and at times impossible to extract any reliable estimate of numbers employed in the various sectors of the economy. I have not attempted to isolate industrial workers, since artisans, independent skilled laborers, and industrial workers are lumped together within categories and these categories change from one census to the next. For commercial and administrative employees there is somewhat more continuity, although omissions and changed categories suggest caution in the use of these statistics. A rough measure of occupations in commerce and bureaucracy gives the following results for the city of Buenos Aires.

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TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF MALES OVER FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE EMPLOYED IN GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE[a]

	1887	*1895*	*1904*	*1909*	*1914*
Government	7.6%	5.7%	12.3%	8.6%	8.8%
Commerce	20.5%	23.1%	27.1%	23.7%	14.2%[b]
N =	156,900	234,000	312,800	462,300	597,800

[a] See table 2 for explanation of sources and of N.

[b] The 1914 figure for commerce seems particularly suspect since 9,000 individuals shifted from commercial to skilled labor categories in the 1914 reporting and several major categories used in 1909 disappeared completely. Furthermore, despite the recession of 1913–14, the numbers of both *comerciantes* and *empleados de comercio* increased from 1909 to 1914, thus suggesting some increase in commercial establishments.

Capital invested in various areas of the economy affords another rough measure of relative importance of sectors. In Buenos Aires the amount of capital invested in industry, including processing of agricultural commodities for export, amounted to 45 per cent in 1909 and 55 per cent in 1914 of that invested in commerce.

TABLE 5. TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTED IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE[a] (in millions of pesos, *moneda nacional*, m$n)

	1895	*1904*	*1909*	*1914*
Industry	95[b]	[c]	324	548
Commerce	167[b]	521	724	996
Industry as a Percentage of Commerce	56.7%	[c]	44.8%	55.0%

[a] Calculations based on *Censo nacional de 1895*, 3: 273, 365; *Censo general de la ciudad de Buenos Aires de 1904*, 138–49, 164–75; *de 1909*, 1: 117–22, 143–47; and *Censo nacional de 1914*, 7: 115–20; 8: 141–45.

[b] Because of fluctuations in the gold equivalent of the m$n prior to 1903, the absolute values given in the 1895 census of 144 million m$n for industry and 254 million m$n for commerce have been multiplied by a correction factor—m$n required to purchase a gold ounce after 1902 divided by m$n required in 1895 (227/344 or .66)—in order to make them comparable as absolute figures with 1904, 1909, and 1914.

[c] The 1904 census gives 99 million m$n as the total capital invested in industry. This total appears grossly undervalued in light of the 1909 figures. One might achieve a more accurate figure by assuming, since there is no evidence to the contrary, that the ratio of capital invested in industry (C), to the value of goods produced by industry (V), remained constant in periods (1) 1904, (2) 1909, and (3) 1914. Since the 1904 census gives a reliable value for goods produced, one can apply the average of the 1909 and 1914 ratios to calculate C_1; thus,

$$C_1 = V_1/2\ (C_2/V_2 + C_3/V_3)$$

This calculation gives a value of 205 million m$n for capital invested in industry, or 39.4 per cent of that invested in commerce in 1904. This also correlates better with the corrected 1895 figure of 95 million m$n invested in industry.

In conjunction with the relative distribution of capital between industry and commerce, it is also desirable to examine the distribution of

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capital within the secondary sector. At Buenos Aires in 1914, activities important to an industrializing economy, such as metallurgy, textiles, and chemicals, received respectively 10.7, 5.8, and 2.5 per cent of total capital invested in industry. At the same time 31.7 per cent of the total was invested in activities directly related to the agricultural export-oriented economy, such as food processing, burlap bags for grain, tanning, and grain elevators.

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRY BY PERCENTAGES[a]

	1895	*1904*	*1914*
Food Processing	18.9%	16.3%	23.6%
Clothing	18.6	16.3	14.3
Construction	12.3	7.9	14.3
Furniture	10.5	7.6	6.7
Ornamentation	3.6	3.4	1.3
Metals	8.9	12.9	10.7
Chemical	4.3	3.2	2.5
Printing	4.3	6.8	4.7
Textiles	3.3	6.8	5.8
Burlap Bags	.5	2.6	4.3
Cigarettes	7.4	5.4	6.7
Tanning	4.6	5.1	1.8
Grain Elevators	1.9	3.9	2.0
Miscellaneous	.9	1.8	1.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	144[b]	99[c]	447[d]

[a] Calculations based on *Censo nacional de 1895*, 3: 273, 365; *Censo general de la ciudad de Buenos Aires de 1904*, 164–75; and *Censo nacional de 1914*, 7: 115–20.

[b] Expressed in millions *moneda nacional*, m$n. The correction factor mentioned in table 5 does not affect the percentage calculations, so the value of 144 million m$n given for industry in the 1895 census is used.

[c] Expressed in millions m$n. Despite the undervaluation of capital invested in industry noted in table 5, the value given in the 1904 census is used in these calculations on the assumption that the basis for determining the value of capital distributed to various activities within the industrial sector remained constant. Percentages, therefore, can validly be calculated on the basis of the 99 million m$n figure.

[d] Expressed in millions m$n. Electricity and gas, valued at 101 million m$n, was included in the census total for capital invested in industry in 1914; it has been removed in this table in order to make categories and percentages comparable with 1904 and 1895.

In an exploratory fashion, therefore, I suggest that these measures applicable to Buenos Aires in the period from 1880 to 1910 might be used as a starting point and, with refinement in other case studies, be expanded in order to secure a more precise definition of the commercial-bureaucratic city.

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New Perspectives on the Republican Party, 1877-1913

A Review Article by LEWIS L. GOULD

JOHN BRAEMAN. *Albert J. Beveridge: American Nationalist.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971. Pp. x, 370. $12.50.

RICHARD JENSEN. *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971. Pp. xvii, 357. $12.50.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL and MARION GALBRAITH MERRILL. *The Republican Command, 1897–1913.* [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1971. Pp. xi, 360. $12.50.

RICHARD E. WELCH, JR. *George Frisbie Hoar and the Half-Breed Republicans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. 364. $14.00.

WITH THE EXCEPTION of Theodore Roosevelt's presidency the four decades between the election of Rutherford B. Hayes and the disaster of 1912 have not impressed historians as a glorious period in the history of the Republican party. They recognize that the GOP rose to majority status between 1876 and 1896 and that the party dominated American politics in the thirty-five years after the election of 1896, but the scholarly appraisal of the Republican record has been generally negative. The party's reputation as an agent of capitalism, its conservative position in contemporary affairs, and the general preference among historians for reformers over professional politicians account to some degree for the critical stance usually adopted toward the GOP. In classroom and textbook, men like James G. Blaine, Benjamin Harrison, and William McKinley lingered until recently as figures of fun, objects of moral scorn, or lessons in the dangers of weak presidents. Renewed interest in the Grand Old Party after 1877 has disturbed many stereotypes and refurbished some damaged reputations.[1] Two of the books under review explore the improvement

[1] See, for example, Carl N. Degler, "American Political Parties and the Rise of the City: An Interpretation," *Journal of American History,* 51 (1964): 41–59; Stanley L. Jones, *The Presidential Election of 1896* (Madison, 1964); John G. Sproat, *"The Best Men": Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1968); H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley, National Party Politics, 1877–1896* (Syracuse, 1969); H. Wayne Morgan, ed., *The Gilded Age* (Syracuse,

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in party fortunes in the Gilded Age and do much to restore William McKinley to his deserved place as the architect of Republican success. The other studies examine the party in the years of power that followed 1896 and illuminate the problems that confront students of this fascinating era of American political history.

Until Roosevelt's second term Republicans told each other that, unlike the Democrats', theirs was the party of action and change, "the party that does things, instead of one that opposes them."[2] Richard E. Welch's thoughtful biography of George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts uses the career of a single senator to examine the real basis for this staple of campaign oratory and to reveal the complexity of the Republican party's internal history in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In his effort to safeguard Negro voting rights, his concern with the trust problem, and his advocacy of the protective tariff, Hoar exemplified the constructive energies that his party brought to national issues. Its record of achievement was a mixed one, but Welch's analysis avoids the simplistic charges of insincerity and hypocrisy so often leveled at the work of politicians in this period. He rejects the notion of an unbroken descent "from unblemished idealism to corporate reaction" in party history between 1865 and 1900 and correctly notes that "the transformation of the Republican party in the generation after Appomattox was a more subtle process than is usually recognized."[3]

Like other leaders whom Welch groups under the label of Half-Breed, Hoar believed that the Republicans should promote the growth of the economy with a protective tariff and a general encouragement of business enterprise. This attitude represented more than a commitment to corporate wealth. It reflected a vision of a harmonious, interdependent society in which assistance to business raised the level of all groups and did not preclude attention to the human problems of an industrial nation.[4] This was not an easy political creed to sustain, and it gave way after 1900 under the pressures of an increasingly pluralistic economy and political system.

1970), 171–87. Robert D. Marcus, *Grand Old Party: Political Structure in the Gilded Age, 1880–1896* (New York, 1971), finds little to admire in the Republicans and in American politics generally. The more favorable evaluation of the party before 1877 has aided the reappraisal of the GOP in the Gilded Age. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York, 1970).

[2] John Milton Hay, "Fifty Years of the Republican Party," in *Addresses of John Hay* (New York, 1906), 300. For other expressions of this theme, see John Coit Spooner to L. D. Coombs, Mar. 29, 1902, John Coit Spooner Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; "Address of Joseph G. Cannon," in *Official Proceedings of the Thirteenth Republican National Convention Held in the City of Chicago, June 21, 22, 23, 1904* (Minneapolis, 1904), 183.

[3] Welch, *George Frisbie Hoar*, 336.

[4] A. Maurice Low, *Protection in the United States* (New York, 1904), 42–43; Herbert Croly, *Progressive Democracy* (New York, 1915), 87–102; Gerald W. Wolff, "Mark Hanna's Goal: American Harmony," *Ohio History*, 79 (1970): 138–51. Any investigation of Republican thought, especially with regard to the tariff, should concentrate on the pivotal role of James G. Blaine in the 1880s. Professor R. Hal Williams has begun a political biography of Blaine that will address itself to this problem.

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But in the Gilded Age Republicans of Hoar's persuasion could still believe in, and act upon, the principle "that while the demands of social continuity forbade radical experimentation they occasionally required legislative revision."[5]

The treatment of Hoar's participation in the lawmaking process is judicious and balanced. Welch sees that the tariff embraced more than a narrow parochialism and that Hoar and many of his colleagues endorsed protection from ideological conviction as well as self-interest. The discussion of the Federal Elections Bill of 1890 summarizes well the unhappy consequences of Republican failure to enact that reform measure. Welch is sometimes unnecessarily defensive on the actions of the GOP and fails to see how James G. Blaine functioned as a party leader, but the larger strengths of his book make it an excellent political biography.

This study also joins a growing list of books that are reappraising more favorably the policies and character of William McKinley. Hoar's opposition to the expansionism of the McKinley administration forms an important chapter in the narrative, and Welch is perceptive about his subject's attempts to change the nation's foreign policy. While describing the strains upon the relationship between senator and president, Welch realizes that McKinley was an uncommonly effective executive. There is the customary rhetorical obeisance to the erroneous notion that McKinley was weak, followed by remarks on the president's adroit management of the Senate and his deft maneuvers to secure ratification of the Treaty of Paris in 1899. Welch contributes further evidence of McKinley's unusually productive relations with Congress, an area where few presidents have done well. In dealing with Capitol Hill or in shaping public opinion McKinley employed techniques that historians applaud in his successors. Students of the growth of presidential power need to look again at his tenure in office in light of the work of Welch and other scholars. If results rather than mere activity are a valid measure, then McKinley was as strong a president as his immediate successors.[6]

An appreciation of McKinley's political genius is a major theme of Richard Jensen's superb study of Midwestern electoral politics in the 1890s. Well written and closely reasoned, *The Winning of the Midwest* brilliantly combines the techniques of the social scientist and the historian

[5] Welch, *George Frisbie Hoar*, 334.

[6] For the emerging revisionism on McKinley, see John A. S. Grenville and George Berkeley Young, *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy: Studies in Foreign Policy, 1873–1917* (New Haven, 1966), 239–66; Paul S. Holbo, "Presidential Leadership in Foreign Affairs: William McKinley and the Turpie-Foraker Resolution," *AHR*, 72 (1966–67): 1321–35; Paul S. Holbo, "The Convergence of Moods and the Cuban Bond 'Conspiracy' of 1898," *Journal of American History*, 55 (1968): 54–72; Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley*, 482–93; Edward Ranson, "The Investigation of the War Department, 1898–1899," *The Historian*, 34 (1971): 78–99. Some historians who dislike the results of McKinley's presidency concede his ability. See Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire* (Ithaca, 1963), 327–33. Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War* (Columbia, Mo., 1971), 102–04, criticizes McKinley for doing too much, not too little, as a war leader.

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to produce a convincing narrative of developments in the principal regional battleground of partisan conflict at the end of the nineteenth century. Jensen traces the breakdown of the even balance between the major parties after 1888, the brief Democratic upsurge in the early 1890s, and the decisive Republican triumphs of 1894 and 1896, and he argues that ultimate GOP success rested on the party's pluralistic appeal to a broad range of ethnic groups and economic interests. The Republicans built their majorities in the Midwest not through coercion, fraud, or deception, but with hard work, flexibility, and a close attention to the concerns of the voters.

Lucid chapters on the styles of campaigning, on election practices, and on the religious basis of party affiliation are a part of Jensen's persuasive and sophisticated description of the Midwestern political environment. His work should dispose of the idea that Gilded Age politicians avoided serious issues and debated irrelevancies. The monetary question, the tariff, and prohibition were important because of their direct connection with the problems of an ethnically diverse industrial society. Similarly, politicians were hardly the gray nonentities of legend. A man who picked his way successfully through the hazards of Midwestern public life had survived a testing process that put no premium on mediocrity.

William McKinley's career before his election to the presidency offers a case in point. Jensen follows closely McKinley's rise through Ohio politics in the first half of the 1890s and stresses that he evolved a program of moderation on religious matters and a tolerance of ethnic difference. With its overtones of nationalism, assumption of social harmony, and promise of prosperity, the protective tariff gave McKinley a broadly based issue with which to woo majority support. Tirelessly preaching his message in graceful speeches across his state and the nation, he made himself the party spokesman for the doctrines of protection and pluralism. In 1896 a masterful campaign and the appeal of his policies carried the GOP to victory and dominance. Jensen's account plausibly suggests that McKinley played as large a part in building his party's enduring coalition as Franklin D. Roosevelt did for the Democrats after 1932.

The Winning of the Midwest is a tart, forthright work that abounds with stimulating insights. The innovative treatment of the shift in campaign tactics from the militaristic to the merchandizing style illuminates a neglected topic in the history of American elections and presents provocative clues about the decline of partisanship in this century. The impressive analysis of the impact of prohibition on the major parties confirms the need for a satisfactory history of that pervasive source of social discord. There are discerning and incisive remarks about the troubles of the Harrison administration, interesting observations on such prominent second-line figures as James S. Clarkson, and fascinating pages on the larger themes of William Jennings Bryan's candidacy in 1896.

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Though clearly sympathetic to the victorious Republicans, Jensen is no mere apologist. His greater allegiance is to pluralistic politics, a point of view that understandably shapes his favorable attitude toward the GOP in the McKinley era. Obviously relishing the rough and tumble world of American politics, Jensen has recreated a decisive period in its development with richness and subtlety.

The review by Horace Samuel Merrill and Marion Galbraith Merrill of the Republican leadership between 1897 and 1913, on the other hand, moves in a much simpler conceptual world. They write from a profoundly cynical view of public life in which corrupt office-holders served dominant business interests and oversaw a docile, kept electorate. The authors find little genuine conviction behind Republican policies and regard the electoral process as a sham contest to mask sinister machinations between organized capital and politicians. Relying heavily on innuendo and implications of misconduct, the Merrills have constructed an indictment of the GOP and predictably render a verdict of guilty. "The party command," they assert, "could have served the nation much better had it performed with less elitism and more democracy."[7]

The resulting narrative reflects the passion and intensity of this position but will leave the knowledgeable reader unpersuaded. In their eagerness to make their case the Merrills repeat themselves,[8] commit errors of fact and citation,[9] and on occasion bend the evidence to prove a point.[10] More important, they have failed to assimilate the work of historians who have eroded older interpretations of politics in the Progressive era. It is no longer sufficient to invoke the specter of "the Republican-business alliance" as an inclusive explanation for party policy in light of studies that demonstrate deep divisions within the business community on specific issues.[11] The handling of factional contests within state Republican organization is equally unsatisfactory. To describe Robert M. La Follette as an angel of virtue and his opponents as members of "the cynical, unsavory Wisconsin Republican hierarchy" shows inadequate awareness of recent scholarship on politics in Wisconsin.[12] Though the Merrills cite some, but by no

[7] Merrill and Merrill, *The Republican Command*, 7.

[8] *Ibid.*, 24–25, 190–91; 111, 177; 28–29, 50, 52, 71, 166; 80, 96–97.

[9] Errors of citation include *ibid.*, 110, 188, 214 n.63. For errors of fact, see *ibid.*, 12, 13, 46–47, 55, 58, 81, 98, 185–86, 234, 244, 278, 285, 317.

[10] The authors use a letter from William Howard Taft in 1922 criticizing Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. as evidence of Taft's views in the early 1900s. They treat Elihu Root in similar fashion. *Ibid.*, 100, 110–11. Chiding Roosevelt for not campaigning in 1904, they do not mention the custom against presidents on the stump. *Ibid.*, 174, 179. They note that Republican Charles D. Hilles received private letters in 1911 and "slyly passed" them on to Taft. *Ibid.*, 329. (At the time Hilles was Taft's secretary.) Finally, they cite a letter from Senator Orville H. Platt as evidence of an admission of his ignorance on financial matters and later call this an "elusive device." *Ibid.*, 29, 61.

[11] *Ibid.*, 54. The Merrills cite, but do not grasp the implications of, Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform* (Cambridge, 1962). Unaccountably they do not use Richard M. Abrams, *Conservatism in a Progressive Era: Massachusetts Politics, 1900–1912* (Cambridge, 1964).

[12] Merrill and Merrill, *The Republican Command*, 33. Herbert F. Margulies, *The Decline of*

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means all, of the more significant books on early twentieth-century public policy, their analysis remains rooted in categories and theories fashionable before the Second World War.

The tariff was a persistent source of dissension within Republican ranks after 1900, and the Merrills concentrate much of their text upon party efforts to resolve the question. But an archaic view of the political process prevents them from doing justice to the problems of protection. Apparently disdaining extended use of the *Congressional Record* and close scrutiny of debates and votes, they have depended too heavily on selected primary sources and secondary accounts, and their analysis suffers accordingly. In the case of the Dingley Tariff of 1897, for instance, they charge that Republicans regarded the final product as an embarrassment. Their evidence is a statement attributed to a senator but actually made by his biographer, a single newspaper clipping of dubious relevance, and the erroneous assertion that William McKinley "avoided public discussion" of the measure.[13] They also claim that the Republicans inserted a twenty per cent increase on certain unnamed goods into the Dingley Bill to compensate certain unspecified producers against possible injury from reciprocal trade provisions in the law. Yet their own evidence discloses the partisan origin of this allegation and the vigorous contemporary denials from the Republicans.[14] The analyses of McKinley's reciprocity

the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, 1890–1920 (Madison, 1968); Stanley P. Caine, *The Myth of a Progressive Reform: Railroad Regulation in Wisconsin, 1903–1910* (Madison, 1970); and David P. Thelen, *The New Citizenship: Origins of Progressivism in Wisconsin, 1885–1900* (Columbia, Mo., 1972), all make clear the complexity of the Wisconsin situation.

[13] For the error in attribution, see Merrill and Merrill, *The Republican Command,* 47, and William Dana Orcutt, *Burrows of Michigan and the Republican Party* (New York, 1917), 2: 104–05. The Merrills refer to a clipping from the New York *Sun,* July 30, 1897, in which a railroad president, Melville E. Ingalls, failed to mention the tariff in a general discussion of the economy. Merrill and Merrill, *The Republican Command,* 47–48. A Gold Democrat who supported McKinley in 1896 and 1900 and William Jennings Bryan in 1908, Ingalls was cool toward protection and is a dubious source for Republican tariff attitudes. Melville E. Ingalls, "The Duty of the Democrats," *North American Review,* 171 (1900): 299–300; *Dictionary of American Biography,* s.v. "Ingalls, Melville Ezra." McKinley's "avoidance" of the tariff is discussed in Merrill and Merrill, *The Republican Command,* 48, but see also James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1907* (Washington, 1908), 10: 26; McKinley's speech to the National Association of Manufacturers, Jan. 27, 1898, in *Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley from March 1, 1897 to May 30, 1900* (New York, 1900), 65, and his speech at Danville, Illinois, Oct. 11, 1899, *ibid.,* 257–58; *Official Proceedings of the Twelfth Republican National Convention, 1900* (Philadelphia, 1900), 148–49, 158.

[14] Merrill and Merrill, *The Republican Command,* 46. The charge about the Dingley Bill seems to have originated with McKinley's reciprocity commissioner, John A. Kasson, in testimony before a Senate committee in 1900. U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Reciprocity Convention with France,* Senate doc. 225, 56th Cong., 1st sess., 1900, p. 69. It was expanded in John Ball Osborne, "Expansion through Reciprocity," in Robert M. La Follette, ed., *The Making of America* (Washington, 1907), 2: 382. The Merrills cite Osborne but not the Kasson testimony. For an effective refutation of Kasson's charge, see David Arganian, "McKinley and Commercial Reciprocity," (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1958), 83–85. In September 1902 a Philadelphia newspaper carried a story that Nelson Dingley had admitted raising the rates in the bill for the purpose of securing reciprocity agreements. The Washington *Post,* Sept. 22, 1902, commented on the story, and the Merrills cite this editorial. They do not appear to have consulted the congressional debates that grew out of Democratic use of the allegation, or the detailed Republican denials that followed. *Congressional Record,* vol. 36, 57th

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campaign, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, and the struggle over Canadian reciprocity in 1911 demonstrate similar tendencies toward oversimplification and distortion.[15]

The Republican Command has the apparatus of scholarship, but it is actually a tract for the times, written out of the Merrills' concern "with the unnecessary suffering, waste, and danger which legislative inadequacy perpetuates in our society."[16] A deep contempt for the professional politician and an impatience with the mixed results of the democratic process pervades the book and shapes the Merrills' jaundiced appraisal of Republican action. In its simplistic view of what constitutes corruption, its readiness to see conspiracy in normal compromise, and its intolerance of explanations less melodramatic than its own, *The Republican Command* looks back to the era of Matthew Josephson and Charles Beard. This intellectual perspective gives it a certain nostalgic charm but makes it an unreliable guide to the Republican party in the period it covers.

After 1901 Republican unity, the product of the McKinley era, faded as the party divided over the proper role of government in regulating an industrial society. Few men participated more directly in the quarrels that rent the GOP than Albert J. Beveridge, and few careers more accurately mirrored the tensions within the party. Entering national politics in 1899 as an expansionist senator of conservative convictions, Beveridge became a proponent of reform causes, an insurgent against the leadership of William Howard Taft, and finally an ally of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. During the last fifteen years of his life he combined successful excursions into biography with a fruitless quest for a political comeback as an opponent of the reforms he had earlier endorsed. John Braeman's careful biography goes directly to the problem of Beveridge's Progressivism and, in the process, clarifies the central question of Republican history in this period, the trauma of 1912.

The transition from regular to reformer owed something to Beveridge's well-known presidential ambitions but more to his belief that the party should advocate policies to alleviate popular discontent and avert more drastic social change. Unlike the Republicans of Hoar's stamp who legislated from a faith in social cohesion, Beveridge and his fellow Progressives wanted to preserve the stability of society through moderate reform. In the era of Theodore Roosevelt this position made him an innovator in comparison with conservatives who clung to the view that government might encourage enterprise but should not regulate it. But

Cong., 2d sess., Jan. 6, 1903, p. 517; Jan. 8, 1903, pp. 593–97; Jan. 12, 1903, pp. 668–71; Jan. 13, 1903, pp. 711–15. The U. S. Tariff Commission, *Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties* (Washington, 1919), 202–03, summarized the highpoints of this controversy, and the Merrills rely heavily on this source. They did not, however, trace down the footnote on page 203 that would have led them to the *Congressional Record*, vol. 44, 61st Cong., 1st sess., July 3, 1909, pp. 4081–85, and a recapitulation of the 1903 debates.

[15] Merrill and Merrill, *The Republican Command*, 87–90, 279–98, 317, 320–24.

[16] *Ibid.*, ix.

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Beveridge's reform impulse was fragile. When he confronted the demands of interest groups, like organized labor, more concerned with concrete goals than social harmony, he retreated toward the conservative stance of his former enemies. This process paralleled the experience of other Progressives and suggests why the Republicans forfeited their place as the party of change to the Democrats after 1912.

Since tariff reform played a large part in Beveridge's evolution as an insurgent, Braeman closely scrutinizes such crucial episodes as the Payne-Aldrich Tariff fight of 1909. A revival of interest in this central problem of Republican policy is overdue. Protection stood at the heart of party doctrine, but it has been passed over in favor of more glamorous topics like conservation or the railroads. Detailed studies of the various tariff bills, and of the reciprocity movement generally, are necessary before the exact course of the Republican decline can be traced. Braeman shows, for example, how Beveridge's opposition to high tariffs reinforced his suspicion of partisan politics and implicitly hints that the tariff was a key element in shaping the antiparty sentiment of the Progressive years. The references to the tariff and the high cost of living indicate that an investigation of the relationship between inflation and Republican misfortune after 1908 is in order. There is also further evidence of Theodore Roosevelt's timidity on the tariff, a subject that needs more attention.[17]

After Beveridge's election to the Senate at the age of thirty-six, friends forecast further successes for the young Hoosier statesman. Somehow the bright hopes were never fulfilled, and he remained a "promising" young man for the next two decades. Traces of the anticlimactic quality of Beveridge's life appear in this biography. The fault is probably Beveridge's, but Braeman's fondness for clichés and tendency toward repetition slow the narrative. Just as his subject was happiest working on biographies of John Marshall and Abraham Lincoln so Braeman appears more comfortable in the concluding chapters when Beveridge leaves politics for the delights of history.

Several years ago Richard Abrams urged his colleagues to "get on with 'The History of Progressive Era Politics.'"[18] Taken together these four books reveal how much remains to be done in that regard for the Republicans. Until there are studies of the tariff that go beyond the work of Frank W. Taussig and Edward Stanwood, the essentials of Republican theory will remain unclear. Investigations of the presidential administrations of William McKinley and William Howard Taft would enable

[17] Braeman, *Beveridge*, 122–67. George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (Madison, 1946), 45, Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform*, 95, and Abrams, *Conservatism in a Progressive Era*, 90–91, 222–23, 233, among others, have noted the impact of the high cost of living, but the subject needs more examination. Albro Martin, *Enterprise Denied: Origins of the Decline of American Railroads, 1897–1917* (New York, 1971), 11–17, among its many other merits, stresses the effect of rising prices. Richard C. Baker, *The Tariff Under Roosevelt and Taft* (Hastings, Nebr., 1941), is still the best study of Roosevelt and protection.

[18] *AHR*, 74 (1968–69): 314.

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historians to place the contributions of Theodore Roosevelt in a more balanced perspective. Roosevelt's relationship with his party needs dispassionate examination; one fruitful approach would be to look at his dealings with Republicans in states like New York, Iowa, and Ohio. The presidential elections that followed the contest of 1896 also require systematic scrutiny along the lines of Jensen's work. In particular the election of 1912 demands a full-scale exploration of the huge mass of available sources on the Republican disaster. Finally, important party leaders like Henry Cabot Lodge, Albert Baird Cummins, and Robert La Follette should receive fresh biographical treatment of the caliber of Welch on Hoar and Braeman on Beveridge.[19]

Intense partisan debate characterized American politics between 1877 and 1913, and echoes of these battles have persisted in historical scholarship. The survival of analytic premises left over from contemporary controversies remains an important obstacle to a proper understanding of the Republican party in this period. As the Merrills' book demonstrates, the sterile categories of "reformer" and "conservative" no longer answer the important questions about the rise and fall of the GOP. Welch, Jensen, and to a lesser extent Braeman avoid facile moralistic generalizations and go about the serious business of writing party history. They accept politics as a legitimate occupation in a democratic society, recognize the internal rules of that profession, and mete out judgment only after a careful evaluation of context and circumstance. As a result their work contributes to a more balanced appraisal of the Republicans and enriches the literature of political history.

[19] David W. Detzer, "The Politics of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1970), and James O. Wheaton, "The Genius and the Jurist: A Study of the Presidential Campaign of 1904" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1964), show what still can be done with worked-over or seemingly uninteresting topics. Joel A. Tarr, "President Theodore Roosevelt and Illinois Politics, 1901–1904," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 58 (1965): 245–64, is a model for an analysis of Roosevelt's dealings with state parties, and Tarr's *A Study in Boss Politics: William Lorimer of Chicago* (Urbana, 1971), makes an even more substantial contribution. Ralph Mills Sayre, "Albert Baird Cummins and the Progressive Movement in Iowa" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), is sound, but Cummins's tariff and railroad views could stand more investigation. James E. Hewes, Jr., "Henry Cabot Lodge and the League of Nations," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 114 (1970): 245–55, suggests the possibilities in a new study of Lodge. Professor David P. Thelen is at work on a biography of La Follette that should provide a balanced perspective on the Wisconsin senator.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

MATTHEW MELKO. *The Nature of Civilizations.* Introduction by CRANE BRINTON. (Extending Horizons Books.) [Boston:] Porter Sargent Publisher. 1969. Pp. xvii, 204. $4.95.

BERNARD NORLING. *Timeless Problems in History.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1970. Pp. x, 301. Cloth $8.00, paper $3.25.

Professor Melko's work deals principally with periods; Professor Norling's book deals principally with problems of history. The first work tries to grapple with the knowledgeability of all history, the second book proceeds from the historicity of our knowledge. They should thus complement each other. Unfortunately they do not. There is a profound difference between the quality of these works. Much of this difference results from the divergent scope of the two authors. Professor Melko has tried to do (or perhaps outdo) a Spengler or a Toynbee. He tries to establish certain basic laws, or at least certain basic characteristics, of what must necessarily constitute an entire civilization. He feels compelled to use heavy sociological language, at times skidding into formulations where vocabulary comes close to serving as a kind of substitute for thought. Elsewhere the style is jagged, a curious mix of popular cheeriness and academic jargon. There are also certain oddities, not always endearing, as when Professor Melko chooses to utilize the crankish lucubrations of a New England colleague, called "The Bowler Continuum," which "can also be used to describe fluctuations in attitudes. Thus Sam Jones, sitting in church, may concentrate alternately on the sublime love of God and the temporal beauty of Susie Smith, sitting in a summer frock, two rows down and to the left" (p. 77). There follows an imbecilic chart in which God and Susie Smith float suspended between "Total Material Concern" and "Total Spiritual Concern," Bowler's sublime formulas. This kind of silliness is not untypical of Professor Melko's work.

Professor Norling is more modest; and, consequently, also more serious. It is not easy to sum up his book either, but for the opposite reason from Professor Melko's. Norling deals with many serious matters. These include illusions in history, a discussion of inevitability and of determinism, the legacies of revolutions and of national character, and certain conditions of cultural achievements. This list does little justice to this book, which is both an important corrective and a useful introduction for the purposes of undergraduates (and also of first-year graduate students) who ought to know something about what historical problems are. Professor Norling's thinking is in the tradition of Herbert Butterfield's to the effect that the principal purpose of historical study should deal with problems rather than with periods. While Melko speculates about the nature of periods Norling is deeply interested in the nature of problems. His brief footnotes reveal an extraordinary breadth of reading in many different fields. *Timeless Problems in History* may be too modest a title. The book fulfills a potential service that is comparable to the late Crane Brinton's *Anatomy of Revolution.* (By a curious, and perhaps paradoxical, coincidence Professor Melko's book is furnished with a brief introduction by Crane Brinton.)

JOHN LUKACS
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MORTON A. KAPLAN. *On Historical and Political Knowing: An Inquiry into Some Problems of Universal Law & Human Freedom.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971. Pp. xvi, 159. $6.50.

Books like this one in which a learned scholar seriously "reflects" on significant critical and philosophical problems associated with rich conceptual subject matter are very much needed. Yet they seldom achieve a clear-cut success. Their brevity prohibits a sufficiently detailed analysis of the issues to satisfy the experts, while the inherent difficulties of the topics treated will often discourage interested "bystanders" working in other scholarly fields. Professor Kaplan has done about as well here as can be expected.

Two lengthy essays, "Knowing and Explaining" (pp. 3–71) and "Historical Consciousness and Truth" (pp. 73–137) account for most of the book. In the first essay Professor Kaplan clearly sides with the "covering-law" theorists and criticizes Professor Michael Scriven, a prominent philosopher, for arguing that historical explanations are "nontrivial truisms." Seven pages are quoted from a relevant article by Scriven (pp. 24–31), followed by the author's pointed criticisms in rebuttal (pp. 31–37). Yet Professor Kaplan later admits that historians normally achieve only "explanation sketches" (rather than laws), though these are stronger than mere truisms. Summarizing this valuable essay he writes: "Even though we do not have real theories or laws in social science—at least yet—we do have some theory sketches and explanations of a looser sort" (p. 69). His claim is that in practice social scientists find difficulty in formulating scientifically convincing laws.

In "Historical Consciousness and Truth" the argument again claims that "most social science theorizing will likely remain qualitative and comparative" after a careful five-page analysis (pp. 121–25) of why quantitative success is improbable. A valuable part of this challenging essay (pp. 130–37) is concerned with the tormented "question" whether and to what extent social science is and can be value free.

A briefer concluding essay, "Freedom in History" (pp. 139–59), argues in a lively way that freedom is a relational as well as a contextual concept. Unlike the earlier two, this essay seldom refers to important arguments and theories in other books by Professor Kaplan; hence it is more self-contained and easier to understand. Probably his *Macropolitics: Essays on the Philosophy and Science of Politics* (1969) and *Dissent in the State in Peace and War* (1970) are important to a proper grasp of the reasoning in this volume.

In this stimulating but difficult book Professor Kaplan contributes assorted logical, methodological, and evaluative observations of the best kind to the wisdom literature of modern social science.

WHITAKER T. DEININGER
California State University, San Jose

MARTIN BALLARD, editor. *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1970. Pp. vi, 234. $6.95.

HAROLD PERKIN, editor. *History: An Introduction for the Intending Student.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; distrib. by Humanities Press, New York. 1970. Pp. vii, 214. Cloth $5.50, paper $2.50.

These books are collections of essays on the study and teaching of history written chiefly by English practitioners. The more significant of the two has been edited by Martin Ballard, who is director of the Educational Publishers Council of England and has taught history at both Burlington Comprehensive School in Bristol and Clare College, Cambridge. In it is assembled a stimulating and highly useful group of essays by a wide range of authors, including noted historians such as William S. McNeill (one of two Americans represented), Arnold Toynbee, G. R. Elton, and Peter Mathias, as well as teachers in English schools of education and secondary schools. Notable among the contributions are McNeill's call for new patterns for comprehending the past to accommodate new needs, including an intelligible picture of world history; Toynbee's plea that historians see themselves as both generalists and, in some particular part of their work, specialists and that they aim both their teaching and their writing at a cultivated and intelligent but nonspecialized public; a discussion of the implications of Piaget for history teaching at different age levels by Roy Hallam; and a highly suggestive essay on the use of sources

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in the classroom by Peter Bamford of Richard Taunton Sixth Form College, Southampton, which includes practical suggestions for preparing students and for using such immediately available sources as the local church. Equally notable and suggestive are discussions by E. A. Wrigley and Mathias of the implications for both study and teaching of new methodology, particularly in connection with family, demographic, and economic history; an essay by Marcus Cunliffe suggesting the particular resonance of United States history for the asking of modern questions, with useful suggestions of particular themes as examples; and a challenging essay on the relationship between the study of history and biology by C. D. Darlington, professor in botany at Oxford.

As Ballard points out in a thoughtful introductory essay, the collection has no common point of view except an assumption that history teachers must face up to change. By inference the collection suggests several crucial and related ideas. One is that in considering change, questions of how and why one teaches in the field are inextricably connected with questions of how and why one studies in it. One regrets that missing in the essays, except the one on Piaget, is any serious consideration of the still more fundamental question of how and why people learn. A second is that pressures for change are springing up not only outside the discipline, in demands for "relevance" and competition from other disciplines, but also within, where they emanate from new questions historians are asking and from new methodology. A third is that the problems of history study and teaching are much the same at all educational levels, even though the answers may necessarily be different, and that practitioners at all levels have much to learn from one another if only they would make the effort to communicate.

Harold Perkin, professor of social history at the University of Lancaster, has compiled a book less committed to change. Designed "for the intending student" at the university level, the book asks where the study of history stands in various traditional subject matter fields: what themes are being emphasized, what research methods used, what questions asked. Answers are offered in brief but thoughtful essays, all by present or former faculty at the University of Lancaster. All are "content" oriented. None is much concerned with the methodology either of teaching or of learning. And yet all take seriously the teaching-learning task, as do the essays in the Ballard book. Both books are examples of a genre of historical literature and of professional concern that have too few equivalents in the United States.

RICHARD H. BROWN
Newberry Library

PAUL F. KRESS. *Social Science and the Idea of Process: The Ambiguous Legacy of Arthur F. Bentley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 260. $8.95.

The stature of Arthur F. Bentley (1870–1957) may be indicated by political scientist Peter Odegard's remark that Bentley's *The Process of Government* (1908) stands as "one of the very few indispensable books" in the literature of the behavioral sciences. Paul Kress's monograph on Bentley and the idea of process should also prove indispensable, especially to those historians, and their number seems to be growing, concerned about the methodological bases of their projects.

Kress goes beyond previous commentators to show how Bentley's work contains implications still largely ignored by American social scientists. Bentley has generally been studied as the father of "the group theory of politics," because of the influence of the second part of his 1908 work entitled "Analysis of Governmental Pressures." Scholars working in this tradition, in Kress's words, "seem to have made the 'group' their central concept and to have allowed 'process' to become the general milieu in which the group 'functions.' "

Kress focuses on "process" rather than on "group," and he succeeds in demonstrating that Bentley was far more interested in the former concept than he was in the latter. The heart of Kress's analysis is a close reading of Bentley's major theoretical works combined with an assessment of the extent to which American sociologists and political scientists have met the challenge posed by Bentley's image of a universe of process. To paraphrase Kress, if Bentley and subsequent analysts conceived of the social realm as "homogeneous, continuous action" then they were faced with the task of creating "differentiating principles,

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ways to re-introduce discreteness—in short, new units of investigation." Kress contends that Bentley and his successors at the task have by and large failed. The chapters on "Process in American Sociology," "Process as Transaction," and "Process as System," though at times unnecessarily opaque, are superb essays in their own right. They describe both the evolution of Bentley's intellectual constructions and the socio-intellectual context of later writing pertinent to the issue. Bentley's attempts to confront the philosophical issues central to the process concept culminated in a transactional analysis replete with arcane terms such as "communicane," "dicaudane," and "scriptilect." Bentley hoped with such a vocabulary to express the "relative stresses and emphases" in a process social realm, as well as to avoid the dualisms inherent in everyday language.

While Kress regards Bentley's attempt as heroic, he by no means sees Bentley as his hero. In company with other political scientists skeptical of "pluralism" and influenced by phenomenology and existentialism, Kress argues that political theory is "seriously threatened by the abolition of units [called for by the process concept] whether particulars, individuals, or persons. . . . Bentley's mistake was to seize upon the explanatory weakness of common sense thought and then find himself forced to repudiate the integrity of human experience itself." This conclusion, like the entire monograph, raises critical questions for historical studies as well as for social science. Any historian interested in "the behavioral approach," in "the new political history," or in the relationships between history and the social sciences should put this book on his list of required reading.

WILLIAM H. ISSEL
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EDWARD WHITING FOX. *History in Geographic Perspective: The Other France*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1971. Pp. 190. $6.95.

In a slim book full of things Professor Fox reconsiders the history of France as a test case for "the proper reintroduction of the geographical dimension" into historical study. To this timely invitation one would like to add a plea for geography in its own right. More often than not in American universities geography is not even recognized as a unified subject for doctoral dissertations but split between the departments of geology, anthropology, the natural and the social sciences; history gets no part of it. Is this not the best method to turn out geologists who are reckless of ecology, anthropologists who are unaware of environment, planners who disregard cultural and climatic variables, and historians who cannot tell Washington from Moscow? "Area studies," carried no further than the introductory level, can hardly make up for the murder of geography or its expulsion from history.

The editor of the Oxford atlases of European and American history, Professor Fox has been once more attracted to the geographical dimension by his search for a method in the apparent madness of contemporary French political behavior. None of the learned, ingenious, or witty explanations offered by French historians explains every turn and contradiction of the latest two hundred years; Herbert Lüthy, a Swiss historian, sums them up under the title *France Against Itself*. Professor Fox plunges far back into historical precedents, broadens his exploration into European and Mediterranean events of the ancient and early medieval periods, and concludes that there are two Frances acting at cross-purposes. The inner core is fundamentally agrarian, self-supporting, inward-looking, and devoted to a strong government (whether monarchic or republican it does not matter greatly) that will give the country law, order, and a thorough administrative guidance. The outer fringe, mainly consisting of seaports and other cities accessible to water-borne commerce, is open to foreign influences, change, nonconformist thought and practices, and unafraid of radical tendencies and self-governing institutions. This bipolarity is neither abnormal nor peculiarly French: it can be observed again and again in history, ever since maritime Greece faced land-based Persia.

These considerations are less novel for the ancient and early medieval world than for modern France; but even where he runs over thoroughly explored ground, Professor Fox offers a few incidental remarks that strike the specialist of the field as a graphic observation

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of a perceptive foreign correspondent that may impress a native (one example among many: "The Franks had not been deprived of important revenues by the rise of Islam, simply because the trade from which this income would have had to derive played no significant role in the economy of Gaul").

I am not fully convinced that his explanation of modern French politics takes care of all objections; it is well documented and sounds plausible, but every effect has many causes, and there usually is no single key to any complicated safe. Here and there, one senses a certain effort in correlating every quirk to the same leitmotif. Still the leitmotif rings clearly, and it was important to attract attention to it. What is more, the geographical dimension has been properly introduced in a pattern of behavior that is French because human, and human because French.

ROBERT S. LOPEZ
Yale University

JOHN HICKS. *A Theory of Economic History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 181. Cloth $5.00, paper $1.95.

JONATHAN HUGHES. *Industrialization and Economic History: Theses and Conjectures*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1970. Pp. xii, 336. $6.95.

The English Industrial Revolution is the focal point, the burning glass of modern history. Into its decades streams a diffuse light—the flickerings of capitalism from Greece through the Dutch Republic. From it pours out the intense heat of modern industrial civilization. This at least is the form imposed on history by a study of economics. It is wholly congruent to the form imposed by a faith in the divinity of Christ. The decades of the Industrial Revolution are the decades from Christmas to the Passion in the material history of the modern world.

The two books here noticed fit together almost exactly at the point of this revolution. Both are extended essays in the grand synoptic tradition of economic history. Both betray that subject's origins in the Enlightenment and the urge to provide a rational alternative to Christian myth. In ten compelling—though hardly conclusive—chapters, J. R. Hicks turns the mind of a great economic theorist to the materials on the rise of capitalism. His theme is an old one—how the growth of trade and the culture of the trader undermined and transformed the economic organization of agrarian societies, producing at last the thoroughgoing capitalism out of which nineteenth-century industrialism could grow. J. R. T. Hughes begins with that growth and follows the nineteenth-century diaspora of elements of income growth among the nations from England to the Continent and overseas and the progressive wreckage of economic forms and ideologies, both "native" and capitalistic, that has littered the world since Marx, Mill, Marshall, and Queen Victoria.

To note their complementarity in coverage, theme, and viewpoint, however, is to give little of the flavor of the two books. Both are highly personal artifacts and derive from persons of markedly different temperaments and culture. Hicks, casting his web over the West, weaves arguments like a spider, one strand at a time. His concern at all points is to be not exhaustive but plausible and, above all, clear. One catches him on occasion in that tone of faint condescension, reminiscent of the language of Alice in Wonderland, that theorists must adopt in order to communicate with the academic multitude. Unfortunately, the materials of history do not readily give themselves to the devices of so cool a rhetoric. Nor can an American review suppress a provincial irritation at the casualness with which an Oxonian scholar surveys the world. Of sixty-three references to other works, the frequency distribution of places of publication is as follows: Oxford 13; London 13; Cambridge 11; New York 3; Paris 2; all others, 1 each. The result of Hicks's mind working on history is not the perfect and satisfying magic of *Value and Capital* (1946), his great work in economic theory. He has produced not a theory of economic history, but a theorist's economic history—a different, but a more human and interesting thing.

Hughes's personal style is quite different—and thoroughly American. Superficially, he appears to have written a book highly usable as an undergraduate text. Written with clarity and vigor, with ample bibliography, forthright judgments, and immense coverage, the book must interest students who, however, may fail to appreciate the breadth of its learn-

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ing and the subtlety of its judgments. The essays on imperialism, economic doctrines, and the interwar period are particularly original and valuable.

If economic history, then, is a religion whose theology has a certain chronological form, Hicks expounds the Old Testament in the style of an Anglican bishop and Hughes proclaims the New a bit in the manner of the Methodist minister of a large city church. Yet the message is the same—it is a message of redemption through modern capitalistic forms and industry. What is missing from it is a sensitivity to the inner logic by which economic and social life may be organized outside the market economies and directed to other ends, less individualistic and less materialistic. Yet what is interesting in the whole span covered by the two books together is the cyclical character of the evolution, from nonmarket forms through the market back to nonmarket organization again. Splitting economic evolution at the Industrial Revolution tends to obscure this huge cyclical form that the history exhibits.

And oddly enough, one other omission in both books appears: the omission of technology as a historical force. Hicks explicitly excludes it in his definition of things economic (p. 71). And Hughes, having given the topic full credit in the initial English developments, loses it in a discussion of entrepreneurs, laws, thought, policies, and capital movements of the nineteenth century and thereafter. Yet Hicks presumably would not deny that it was the presence of this catalyst that distinguished the late eighteenth-century revolution from its predecessors in Greece or in early modern times. Nor could Hughes deny that the spread of modern industry occurred most easily where resource and transport conditions were best suited to the developing technology. Hicks and Hughes then must be supplemented by David Landes, who supplied if not Christ, then at least Prometheus, as the superstar to the story. The three authors' books taken together supply an interested historian with a useful and intriguing introduction to modern history as modern economists view it. If all three get lost in their subjects to some degree, that should not be taken to show their hopeless indifference to modern economics, as some recent critics of Landes in this journal have averred (*AHR*, 76 [1971]: 467–74). It is but a sign of their baptism in the subject matter of economic history—by a sprinkling of holy water in the case of Hicks and, for Hughes and for Landes, by total immersion.

WILLIAM N. PARKER
Yale University

JACQUELINE MURRAY. *The First European Agriculture: A Study of the Osteological and Botanical Evidence until 2000 BC*. Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1970. Pp. vii, 380. $10.75.

Derived from a doctoral thesis at Edinburgh University this book represents an ambitious attempt at summarizing the botanical and osteological data produced by more than one thousand excavations in the Near East and Europe. The author has not undertaken new identifications but instead has assembled the published evidence and drawn conclusions that she hopes will "mark the culmination of one stage of research, and provide the basis for the beginning of another."

The conclusions so reached show that agriculture began in the Near East ca. 9000 B.C. with the domestication of sheep and goats. Some time before 7000 B.C. the dog was also domesticated and the cultivation of plants begun. Included were two species of wheat, einkorn and emmer (both of which have wild relatives extant), and barley of the two-rowed type that is quite similar in its characteristics to the present-day wild barley of the Near East.

During the late Neolithic cattle and pigs were added to the domestic stock, and six-rowed barley and bread wheats made their first appearance. The author erroneously attributes the origin of these wheats to a chromosome aberration in the tetraploid emmer. Since geneticists regard the discovery and cultivation of the hexaploid bread and club wheats as one of the most important developments in the evolution of Old World agriculture, this error is not minor. It has been known for many years that these wheats are allopolyploid hybrids—the product of adding a third genome to the tetraploid complex. Since 1956 it has been well established that this third genome is derived from the wild grass *Aegilops speltoides*.

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From the Near East the practice of agriculture spread first to Greece, ca. 5000 B.C., and later across Europe. The author treats the spread as a form of colonization; she recognizes no evidence of an independent origin of agriculture in Europe. This is perhaps the book's most important conclusion.

In pursuing her prodigious labors the author has reviewed the literature up until February 1968 to produce a bibliography that includes about 450 entries of works embracing at least ten different languages. Although this will prove useful as a reference work it is already incomplete because of a number of significant contributions published in 1968 or later. Because of the enormous amount of detail involved in the text, the 210 tables and the 137 histograms, the lack of an index is an especially unfortunate omission.

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G. J. CUMING and DEREK BAKER, editors. *Councils and Assemblies: Papers Read at the Eighth Summer Meeting and the Ninth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society.* (Studies in Church History, Number 7.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. xiv, 359. $16.00.

Twenty-two essays presented at the eighth summer meeting and the ninth winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society are brought together here. All deal with some piece of legislation or aspect of life connected with a Church synod. The temporal span covers the Early Middle Ages to the twentieth century. The geographic area is Western Europe, with the exception of D. M. Nicol's paper on the Byzantine reaction to II Lyons (1274). Peter Hinchliff's remarks on Bishop Gray's work in South Africa at the middle of the last century, and S. P. Mews's survey of Anglo-Catholic criticism of the Kikuyu Conference (Kenya, 1913). There are fifteen studies of Roman Catholic assemblies and seven of Anglican or Protestant gatherings. The councils of Christian antiquity do not appear nor, among the Latin ecumenical convocations, do III, IV, V Lateran, I Lyons, Vienne, and Trent. Of recent interfaith movements—Life and Work, Faith and Order, the World Council of Churches—none provides basis for an essay. Several studies probe substantial questions, with wide-ranging implications; others are more limited. As a collection of independent essays, both quality and scholarship are commendable.

The following gives a brief sense of the contributions: Walter Ullmann's "Public Welfare and Social Legislation in the Early Medieval Councils" shows that Frankish and Visigothic synods of the sixth to ninth centuries continued to concern themselves with alleviating the condition of the poor, the ill, the slaves, etc. as had their predecessors in fifth-century France. J. L. Nelson's "National Synods, Kingship as Office, and Royal Anointing: An Early Medieval Syndrome" traces royal anointing in Spain to 672, in France to 848, in Germany to 911, and in England to 973, and interprets it as an episcopal monopoly. In "The Case of Berengar of Tours" Margaret Gibson discusses the eucharistic statements accepted by Berengar at councils in 1059 and 1079, which foreshadow later teaching on transubstantiation. M. J. Wilks's "*Ecclesiastica* and *Regalia:* Papal Investiture Policy from the Council of Guastalla to the First Lateran Council, 1106–23" indicates that Pope Paschal II's policy at Sutri-Rome (1111) was in line with a developing distinction between episcopal possessions and jurisdiction to be regulated by canon law and a bishop's regalian functions legitimately subject to the law of the land. In "*Viri religiosi* and the York Election Dispute" Derek Baker argues that the twenty-eighth cannon of II Lateran Council (1139) giving religious orders a consultative voice in episcopal elections had little influence upon the choice of a successor to Archbishop Thurstan of York in 1140. Peter Linehan's "Councils and Synods in 13th-century Castile and Aragon" gives a capsule description of the efforts of the Aragonese archbishop Pedro de Albalat of Tarragona (d. 1251) to eliminate concubinage and to improve the education of the clergy in contrast to the lack of concern in these matters evidenced by the Castilian prelate Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada of Toledo (d. 1247). In "The Byzantine Reaction to the II Council of Lyons, 1274" D. M. Nicol chronicles in depth eleven years of rejection at Constantinople of the union with the papacy accepted at Lyons

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on July 6, 1274. Brenda Bolton ("The Council of London of 1342") describes the twenty-nine enactments of a provincial assembly under Archbishop Stratford of Canterbury. R. M. Haines's "Education in English Ecclesiastical Legislation of the Later Middle Ages" is a recounting of the measures taken by thirteenth- to sixteenth-century English bishops to insure a minimal doctrinal formation for parish priests and laity. Joseph Gill's "The Representation of the *universitas fidelium* in the Councils of the Conciliar Period" deals with the nonmitred participants at Pisa (1409), Constance (1414), Basel (1431), and Florence (1438), and it questions whether they were representative of any but themselves. Margaret Harvey's "Nicholas Ryssheton and the Council of Pisa, 1409" describes four short *quaestiones* presented at or after the 1409 synod by an English canonist. In "The Condemnation of John Wyclif at the Council of Constance," E. C. Tatnall extricates from the 1414–15 proceedings of the synod against Jan Hus its measures in condemnation of Wyclif (d. 1384). A. N. E. D. Schofield's "Some Aspects of English Representation at the Council of Basle" lists what is known of the two English delegations sent to the council in 1433 and 1434–35. A. J. Black ("The Council of Basle and the II Vatican Council") sees Basel's themes on the sovereignty of the whole Church, episcopal collegiality, and the ministry as service in relationship to the deliberations of the recent ecumenical council. Basil Hall's "The Colloquies between Catholics and Protestants, 1539–41" views the discussions at Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg as reflective of a spirit of understanding that reappears in twentieth-century ecumenical dialogue. W. B. Patterson's "King James I's Call for an Ecumenical Council" depicts royal proposals in 1603 and 1604 for an interfaith gathering, which Pope Clement VIII rejected. In "John Hales and the Synod of Dort" Robert Peters describes the reactions of a sympathetic English observer at the assembly (1618–19) who grew disillusioned with its rigid Calvinism. "Assembly and Association in Dissent, 1689–1831" by G. F. Nuttall is an account of the Nonconformist ministerial Exeter Assembly in Devon from its founding to the establishment in 1831 of national Congregational and Baptist Unions. G. V. Bennett's "The Convocation of 1710: An Anglican Attempt at Counter-Revolution" relates the unsuccessful efforts of the High Churchman Francis Atterbury to forge a working partnership between the lower houses both of Convocation and Parliament toward the renewal of Church of England discipline. Peter Hinchliff's "Laymen in Synod: An Aspect of the Beginnings of Synodical Government in South Africa" treats the steps from 1855 to 1870 whereby Bishop Gray of Capetown succeeded in bringing the laity into diocesan and provincial synods. In "The First Vatican Council," E. E. Y. Hales suggests that the handling of papal primacy and infallibility at the synod of 1869–70 was both balanced and the outcome of genuine debate. S. P. Mews contends in "Kikuyu and Edinburgh: The Interaction of Attitudes to Two Conferences" that contemporary Anglo-Catholics were happy with the approach to Christian unity at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference (1910) but fearful that an open communion service used at Kikuyu (Kenya, 1913) would lead to a jerrybuilt Christianity.

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Lyndhurst, New Jersey

MONTE D. WRIGHT and LAWRENCE J. PASZEK, editors. *Science, Technology, and Warfare: The Proceedings of the Third Military History Symposium, United States Air Force Academy, 8–9 May 1969.* [Washington:] Office of Air Force History, Headquarters USAF; [USAF Academy, Colo.:] United States Air Force Academy. [1971.] Pp. xvi, 221. $1.25.

In 1969 the third in a series of conferences on the history of war sponsored by the Air Force Academy addressed itself to a theme of great contemporary importance, much of whose earlier history remains uncertain: the interaction of science and technology with military organization and performance. The papers and commentaries have now been published, together with the Eleventh Harmon Memorial Lecture, delivered during the conference by Elting E. Morison.

In an admirably lucid survey A. Rupert Hall demonstrates that until the eighteenth century warfare owed little to science. He is effectively supported by his commentators—J. R. Hale, who identifies organizational, social, and intellectual elements in the military that

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insulated them from science, and John B. Wolf, whose suggestion that the two realms could not draw closer until sophisticated civil-military bureaucracies developed after the Thirty Years' War introduced a secondary theme of the conference—the role of management. In the second major paper David Bien disputes the view that the founding of the *École militaire* in 1751 was a response to the French army's new technical needs. Indeed such needs scarcely existed. Rather the new stress on mathematics in the training of subalterns was intended to guard them against possibly corrupting, antiprofessional influences of the standard classical education. Not surprisingly Bien's elegant reinterpretation troubled some members of the symposium; nevertheless the thesis that scientific subjects rose to prominence in military curricula for psychological rather than technical reasons is buttressed by two informative comments: Gunther Rothenberg's review of conditions in the Austrian army and John Shy's comparative analysis of European military academies during the revolution and the Napoleonic Age.

In contrast to the imaginative approach taken to the early modern period the paper by I. B. Holley, Jr. on the evolution of operations research in the Air Force is largely narrative. The fact that some protagonists are still living obviously presents problems, as does the unavailability of important documents; yet Robert L. Perry in his critique shows how much scholars can do already to identify and interpret the central elements in the failure of the Air Force to establish a research office competent to deal with the major technological and strategic issues of the 1950s and 1960s. Finally Melvin Kranzberg suggests models for the interaction between science, technology, and warfare in America since 1945.

While the symposium could not hope to explore its theme evenly over six centuries, it is too bad that the interests of the main speakers caused a particularly relevant period to be neglected—the years from 1815 to 1945, during which the separation of science and war gradually and decisively came to an end. Professor Morison's lecture, "The War of Ideas; The United States Navy, 1870–1890," might have gone far to fill the gap; but as he was addressing the entire cadet wing rather than the conference proper he was precluded from fully developing his thesis that the navy was incapable of innovation because it lacked a realistic conception of its duties. Nevertheless this is a stimulating volume, of more than specialist appeal, which, incidentally, bears out an impression that American historians who today write on war fall, broadly speaking, into two groups: those who recognize that topics in the history of organized violence are always defined by the interaction of civil and military elements, which must be analyzed before the course of military events can be traced, and others who derive whatever analytic unity their themes might possess exclusively from the beginnings and ends of a campaign or a career.

PETER PARET
Stanford University

CAMILLE LIMOGES. *La sélection naturelle: Étude sur la première constitution d'un concept (1837–1859).* ("Galien": Histoire et philosophie de la biologie et de la médecine.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 184. 25 fr.

Camille Limoges has written a short but excellent account of the development of the theory of natural selection. Mr. Limoges's book supersedes most other work done on the topic in two respects. First, having studied French science he is better acquainted with the great French naturalists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than are most English-speaking commentators on the history of evolutionary thought. He has used that familiarity to especially good effect in his discussion of the views held by P. A. Latreille and A.-P. de Candolle on the geographical distribution of species. It is interesting to note, however, that on the central question of why there was an English Darwin rather than a French one, Limoges follows the by now standard interpretation put forward most forcefully by W. F. Cannon and Charles Gillispie that it was the uniquely English version of natural theology that fostered Darwinian thought.

The second recommendation for Limoges's book is that it is the first work to be published on the formative years of Darwin's development since Darwin's notebooks on transmutation were published by the British Museum.

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From these notebooks Limoges has drawn several important conclusions as to the order of Darwin's insights. First, contrary to his word, Darwin was not looking for an analogue to artificial selection when he read T. R. Malthus's *An Essay on the Principle of Population* in late September 1838. Second, the reading of Malthus was in itself the catalyst of his theory. Both points are correct, though I find Limoges's interpretation of them more dogmatic than present knowledge of the early Darwin manuscripts allows. On occasion Limoges also blurs the distinction between the historical development of the components of the idea of natural selection and the route Darwin himself took. For example, he discusses the work of Edward Blyth on points where Darwin very clearly learned much more from Charles Lyell (pp. 66–68). Limoges has nonetheless reconstructed a significant portion of Darwin's early thought in such a way that it illuminates the change involved in the passage from a traditional notion of natural economy to one involving transmutation.

SANDRA HERBERT
University of Maryland

KARL MARX. *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right.'* Translated from the German by ANNETTE JOLIN and JOSEPH O'MALLEY. Edited with an introduction and notes by JOSEPH O'MALLEY. (Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. lxvii, 151. $9.50.

The relationship between the young Marx and the mature Marx is one of the major controversies among contemporary Marx scholars; and the position taken in this controversy determines one's attitudes toward various works of Marx. If his life's entire work is seen to be of one piece, then the early books, articles, and fragments in which he formulated his disagreements with Hegel and the Hegelian Left assume central importance.

Professor O'Malley, who takes this view, has made available to the English-language reader the 150-page manuscript in which Marx criticizes Hegel's political philosophy. Although there are minor errors in the introduction the translation itself is careful and faultless. Still the manuscript presupposes so intimate an acquaintance with Hegelian, Feuerbachian, and Marxian thought that it would not be easily understood even by many scholarly readers.

For this reason the most important part of this book is the brilliant and learned introduction, in which Professor O'Malley carefully explains the circumstances in which the manuscript was written and places it within the course of Marx's intellectual development. He then describes the methodology of his critique of Hegel, dissecting it carefully and convincingly into three distinct devices; and finally he guides the reader painstakingly through every single step.

The argument is convincing. The total work of Marx appears to have coherence and unity. And yet the nagging feeling remains that the opposite case could be made. One regrets that Professor O'Malley argued his case without taking up the points made by those who make a strict separation between the young Marx and the mature Marx. One key to this separation is the contribution to "Marxism" made by Friedrich Engels. O'Malley is perfectly justified in hardly mentioning him; for, after all, when the manuscript on Hegel was being written, Marx and Engels had not yet met. Yet for an understanding of the total work a discussion of their relation to each other's ideas would have been pertinent.

This reservation apart, the work being reviewed is a fine contribution to scholarship.

ALFRED G. MEYER
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

HEINZ K. MEIER. *Friendship under Stress: U.S.-Swiss Relations 1900–1950.* Bern: Herbert Lang & Co. 1970. Pp. 423. $10.60.

Professor Meier has given us a well-researched study of American-Swiss relations in the first half of the twentieth century. And his definition of "relations" is commendably broad. In addition to the strictly intergovernmental business Meier's study covers major aspects of public opinion, cultural affairs, and other people-to-people involvements (particularly tourism), with the result that the book produces a picture more colorful and meaningful than the one that generally emerges from more conventional studies in diplomatic history. There

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is warmth in the book, too, and this comes very definitely from the fact that Heinz Meier was born Swiss but lives in America, and he therefore "relates" personally to both of his subjects. Their friendships (quiet but durable) are his pleasure; their arguments (occasional but sharp) obviously distress him. It is refreshing to read history that has been lived.

While much of the book deals with routine bilateral affairs, the chapters involving Swiss neutrality raise questions of great significance. Although Meier is objective enough to see to it that the contentions of both sides receive a full hearing, it is nevertheless pervasively true that he is a great believer in Swiss neutrality, with all that has meant in terms of trading with the enemy. The fact that the Swiss arguments during World War II struck most American officials as particularly exasperating serves as an interesting reminder of how far the United States had moved since its own neutrality days of 1914–16. Also significant is the fact that Switzerland's neutrality problems carried on into the postwar world and resulted in Swiss abstention from the United Nations. Meier tries valiantly to reconcile these divergent philosophies by asserting that "neutrality and collective security have the same goals, namely the maintenance of peace and the status quo and the prevention of revolutionary change." Somehow one gets the impression that he is reluctant to face the fact that it took two ferocious global wars to make the world safe for neutrality—even temporarily.

The chapter of most general interest is probably the one with the unwieldy title "Wilson, Rappard, the Paris Peace Conference, and the League of Nations." Although much of this ground was covered years ago in the writings of that remarkably able and distinguished Professor Rappard, it is good to have the whole story brought together, as Meier has done, from all pertinent sources.

The least satisfactory chapter is the one dealing with Switzerland's activities as a protecting power in World War II. The author is aware of this shortcoming and indicates, by way of extenuation, that he could not possibly cover this huge story in one chapter. This is true, but then his study is not so large that he could not have devoted more space to a subject so significant and so little studied. Now that the American, British, Canadian, and German documentation is open for the war period, perhaps the Swiss will follow suit, and Professor Meier can give us a fuller treatment of this neglected topic.

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN
Department of State

BRITON COOPER BUSCH. *Britain, India, and the Arabs, 1914–1921*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. ix, 522. $14.50.

Amidst the complexities of the period of World War I, the question of British policy in the Middle East during those years is surely one of the most difficult to unravel. Scholars have tended to skip over this area with a few well-worn generalities, none of them major distortions, but none sufficiently examining or explaining the reasons behind British actions. It is only in recent years that the immense body of documentation necessary for such a study has become available, and in this book Professor Busch has given us the first full-scale attempt to present a detailed picture of the evolution of British policy. He has consulted not only British governmental records in England but in India as well, and he has also used a number of collections of private papers that are of extreme importance.

Professor Busch has restricted his examination to the conflict between British authorities in London and in India. It was a peculiarity of Britain's governmental structure that the Middle East fell into two separate spheres of control, the western half under the Foreign Office in London and the eastern half under the Government of India. Busch argues that Indian intervention and influence hampered the creation of a unified British policy toward the Middle East, and he demonstrates his thesis by illustrating the conflict between India and London at a number of crucial points during the war.

On the outbreak of war, the Government of India dispatched an expeditionary force to Mesopotamia, which lay within its area of responsibility. Almost immediately Indian political officials in Mesopotamia came into conflict with their opposite numbers in Cairo who held an altogether different view of what Brit-

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ish policy should be. In London the views of Cairo and Mesopotamia were expressed respectively by the Foreign Office and the India Office (which served as the spokesman for the Government of India); thus local opinion was transferred to a much broader scale. Professor Busch has wisely not devoted a great deal of space to the well-known aspects of the question such as the Husain-McMahon correspondence or the Sykes-Picot Agreement, but has concentrated instead on the day-to-day developments in Cairo and Mesopotamia and the increasing divergence in their views. These views emerge clearly with Cairo supporting Arab nationalism and independence (but not necessarily, as Busch notes, unity), and the Indian officials opposing this policy and preferring to rely on traditional methods taken from their experience in India. The play of personalities was of major importance since decisions were often made by those on the spot, and Busch has provided excellent vignettes of British officialdom.

One's only regret is that, in emphasizing the British side, Professor Busch has given little attention to Arab questions: the nature and content of Arab nationalism or Arab objectives in terms of independence and unity, for example. These problems are perhaps outside the scope of the present work, but they might have provided a useful counterpoint. Nevertheless Professor Busch has given us an extremely valuable study, well written and researched with admirable thoroughness. His book will go far toward illuminating a hitherto dark corner of Middle Eastern history.

LINDA C. ROSE
Herbert H. Lehman College, City University of New York

NICHOLAS BALABKINS. *West German Reparations to Israel.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1971. Pp. 384. $12.50.

The Luxemburg Treaty by which the Federal German Republic paid 3 billion DM to Israel and 450 million DM for the rehabilitation of Jews throughout the world is an accord without precedent. Massacres and genocide took place in the past (if not on such a vast scale), but no compensation has ever been paid to the survivors by a government that was not itself a party to such brutality. Mr. Balabkins tells his story well: he analyzes not only the painful negotiations themselves, but also the economic background against which they took place and the effect that the payments had on the German and Israeli economies. At the time of the treaty in 1952 the Federal Republic had not yet experienced its economic revival, and German financiers feared that additional foreign commitments might make it impossible to pay outstanding obligations and restore German credit abroad. German resistance to the negotiations was based upon such fears. Israel, on the other hand, was in need of the money in order to solve a deepening economic crisis due largely to the rapid absorption of some 700,000 immigrants. Nominally, at least, the payment to Israel was supposed to help defray the expenses of their settlement: eventually, the expenditure had little effect on Germany itself, for it only constituted seven per cent of the billions paid out for the lost war. Israel, however, was able to build an economic infrastructure, though military considerations and some ill-considered planning produced considerable economic waste. It is a pity that Mr. Balabkins excludes the effect of individual restitution payments from his analysis, for they seem to be a part of the general economic picture.

The book is less convincing when it assesses the continuing popular reaction to the treaty in Germany and Israel. He finds hostility or indifference, but this is based on rather narrow evidence, mostly selections from the public debates on the issue. His introduction, which attempts to give the history of German anti-Semitism and the holocaust, suffers from compression. At the present stage of research these issues cannot be profitably discussed in some twenty pages without undue dogmatism and some factual errors.

Konrad Adenauer's predominant role in the conclusion of the treaty is rightly stressed, but the praise bestowed upon him seems more deserved in the subsequent generous interpretation of the treaty at a time when, thanks to the cold war, the moral rehabilitation of the Federal Republic was no longer a political issue. Ben Gurion's realism is given its due, while one of the most important motivations for his actions is omitted. Through lead-

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ing the negotiations from the start Israel could validate its claim to represent all Jews throughout the world. The book assumes the correctness of a claim that was much disputed at the time. The Germans also accepted it, to the point of showing reluctance in compensating Jews living outside Israel. Here, for reasons that remain to be explained, the German government made nearly as great a contribution to Israel's status in the world as in the treaty itself.

GEORGE L. MOSSE
University of Wisconsin, Madison

ANCIENT

SINCLAIR HOOD. *The Minoans: The Story of Bronze Age Crete.* (Ancient Peoples and Places, Volume 75.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1971. Pp. 239. $9.50.

This excellent book expresses compactly and in an extremely readable manner the growth, maturity, and final collapse of the Minoan civilization of Crete, that "first high civilization on European soil" (p. 11). Although the text of this "popular" book is relatively short (140 pages) the author, with an ability shown earlier in his *Home of the Heroes: The Aegean Before the Greeks* (1967), produces a rich, detailed impression of the somewhat elusive character of the Minoans through a study of their material remains and environment. The variety of in-text line drawings (numbering 131), many made expressly for the book, and the 120 clear and attractively arranged plates in the back of the book display a good cross-section of Minoan architecture, sculpture, wall painting, pottery, and seals. The captions to the plates and figures (see pp. 217–32 for the former) are especially informative, and the notes (pp. 151–63) will prove useful to students and scholars.

The author is the former director of the British School of Archaeology in Athens and is the excavator at Knossos who recently verified in large part the much debated sequence of pottery styles established previously by Sir Arthur Evans. His approach to writing combines a praiseworthy tendency to stay as close as he can to archeological fact with an intimate knowledge of recent archeological discoveries. For instance, worthy of note is his analysis of the effect that the volcanic eruption of Thera may have had on Minoan Crete, an analysis partly based on what he learned at the Thera Conference (p. 55). He proposes that the effects of a Late Minoan (LM) IA destruction, caused by the eruption, can actually be found on Crete and that the later destruction in LM IB was caused by foreign invaders, the latter a theory originally proposed by early excavators. We can place this in direct contrast to the theory of a second eruption in 1450 B.C. (the end of LM IB), most recently reiterated by Nicolas Platon, the excavator of Kato Zakros (*Zakros* [1971], pp. 265–320). As additional bonuses in his book Hood includes descriptions of Early Minoan II Fournou Korifi (p. 61), excavated by Peter Warren, and the palace of Kato Zakros, the latter being given the courtesy of being considered before the other palaces (p. 65). There are also up-to-date discussions of the evolution of Minoan pottery styles (pp. 35–48), of objects of foreign origin found in Minoan contexts (pp. 123–26), as well as a clear restatement of his reasons for remaining skeptical about the generally accepted decipherment of Linear B (pp. 113–15).

For those wishing a congenial, scholarly text that compresses into a short space what we know about Minoan Crete, this book deserves the highest recommendation. In this respect it supersedes R. W. Hutchinson's *Prehistoric Crete* (1962). The editors of Thames and Hudson should be congratulated on the format, the attractive and well-placed illustrations, and a generally flawless job of printing.

JOSEPH W. SHAW
University of Toronto

A. W. H. ADKINS. *From the Many to the One: A Study of Personality and Views of Human Nature in the Context of Ancient Greek Society, Values, and Beliefs.* (The Society for the Humanities, Cornell University. Studies in the Humanities.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 311. $8.50.

To a modern age earnestly asking what is the nature of man and his good life Adkins's subtitle promises much. But this is a book for the specialist, a close concentration on the evolving semantic values of certain Greek words (for example, *phusis, psuche, agatha, arete,* and *eudai-*

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monia) that indicated men's values, roles, and beliefs.

Homeric heroes, responsible for small *oikoi*, lived in a "results culture" that judged men's worth by lineage, wealth, and ability to protect their own. Failure in these external responsibilities shamed a man, and no good intentions or personally held moral standards restored his honor. Such external sanctions over which he had no judgment or control caused a disunified personality. Later developments perpetuated this disunity. Hesiod's tale of creation brought some core of personality to men but again stressed a class society and an afterlife brightened only by this world's fame. The emerging *polis* was small enough that each individual's birth and political and military successes were known. Religion only precariously balanced the limitations of human nature and the demands of success. In philosophy the Sophists stressed competitive excellences even against laws and customs. Plato lauded the virtues primarily as the monopoly of the few who controlled and conditioned the passions of lesser men. Aristotle judged that the war between men's desires and intellect could be won only by training the ablest men to desire what was good. Surprisingly Adkins finds integrated personality for the first time in the Hellenistic age. The *polis* had imposed psychological stresses of competition; the larger Hellenistic states, by lessening individual responsibility and prestige, permitted men of all classes to find inner harmony, self-sufficiency, and satisfactions—be they only Stoic *apatheia* and Epicurean *ataraxia*.

This book is a sequel to Adkins's earlier *Merit and Responsibility* (1960), which uses the same word analyses to trace historical development of other concepts. Both books are part of a valuable, growing literature analyzing the meaning and significance of Greek concepts as different from our own (for instance E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* [1951]; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind* [1953]; and Helen North, *Sophrosyne* [1966]).

Weaknesses, however, beset Adkins's book. The stress on only certain words throws much of the period out of proportion; the length of time covered and the variety of approaches used make for superficiality. Sometimes the theme distorts the facts; Aristotle, for example, says that the state exists to aid the good life of the citizen, not the reverse. Indeed Adkins's central theme remains unproven: that man suffers personality fragmentations when seeking successes for external approval, but that the many become the one when man retreats to his own internal solace.

ELEANOR G. HUZAR
Michigan State University

CHARLES W. FORNARA. *Herodotus: An Interpretative Essay*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. 98. $5.75.

Fornara's purpose is to show how Herodotus wrote his *Histories*, how he developed intellectually, how the book finally reached its present form. Chapter 1, "Unitarians, Separatists, and Book II," refers to the views of his predecessors, especially Jacoby (Herodotus passed from a series of independent studies to a Persian history to the history of the Persian War), and states his own: that Herodotus began with an ethnographical interest, in book 2 ("written to instruct and entertain"), and, adjusting his intentions as he matured and so constantly revising, gradually became the historian whom we honor. This conception, which I find sensible, is not far from Jacoby's, although less rigid in that it refuses to divide the *Histories* into easily separable parts.

Fornara then illustrates his announced thesis. In chapter 2, "The Persian Empire," Herodotus's ethnographical concern becomes a more sophisticated interest in Persian expansion, with emphasis on motive. Chapter 3, "Herodotus and Athens," brings us to 431, when Athens and Sparta were on the verge of war; Herodotus wrote books 7–9 as he did in response to this tragic crisis. Chapter 4, "Herodotus' Perspective," contrasts the eternal relevance of Thucydides' work with the more restricted public envisioned by Herodotus, who "directed himself exclusively to his own generation" (dated, too closely, 431 B.C.). "Herodotus considered the events of his own time an unmitigated but thoroughly unavoidable disaster. It was the truth of this proposition which his *Histories* intended to convey" (chapter 5, "The Archidamian War"). The epilogue sums up: "Herodotus developed as he wrote and shifted his intentions as he developed." A simple "Index of Names and Subjects" and an "Index

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of More Important Passages" complete the book.

This study (my summary is cruelly brief) is worth reading, and Fornara makes a good case. He has read the literature, although he keeps documentation to a minimum. He is at his weakest in his references to the Athenian empire, for he suffers from the contemporary uncritical attitude to imperialism. The editing and proofreading are not perfect, and he indulges in some unfortunate usage, but I am happy to see the correct form of the adjective in the title.

MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR
University of British Columbia

JOHN TRAVLOS. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens.* (German Archaeological Institute.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1971. Pp. xvi, 590. $70.00.

John Travlos has published a superb pictorial guide to ancient Athens consistent in quality and appearance with its distinguished predecessor on Rome by Ernest Nash. The scholarship is impeccable; the photographs and drawings sharply made, beautifully printed, and aptly chosen; and the intelligent entries crisply written and thoroughly up to date. Without question, Travlos has produced a masterful reference work on the topography and monuments of the classical city that will stimulate and inform every historian, classicist, and archeologist concerned with Athens and Greek civilization.

The encomiastic tone of this review applies equally to the individual entries, eighty in number and arranged alphabetically, through which the author has surveyed the active topography of Athens from 3000 B.C. to the late Roman Empire. Every element of textual, literary, historical, and physical evidence has been used comprehensively in the presentation of all major sites (for example, Agora, "Ilissos Area," or Panathenaic Way), monuments (for instance, of the Eponymous Heroes or Lysikrates), buildings (such as Erechtheion or the Library of Hadrian), and even private houses. Each entry begins with a textual introduction and descriptive analysis that sums up the present state of knowledge and frequently contributes to its advancement, since Travlos has participated in so many important excavations and programs of archeological restoration over the years. The entry is illustrated brilliantly to reveal what survives and to suggest through reconstruction what once existed, often established in context by the incorporation of related sculptures, inscriptions, or other ancillary materials. Each entry then concludes with a complete bibliography of the greatest breadth, usefulness, and precision. Because the entries are so comprehensive and the treatment so perceptive, Travlos's book is more than a categorical compilation of data about Athens, as the author reaches toward the systematic description of the life of the city as revealed in its discrete, constituent elements. The reader who is interested by the author's brief account of the urban history of Athens (pp. 158 ff.) and impressed by the scope of his knowledge and by the sensitivity of his judgments, will be grateful for Travlos's outstanding achievement but asks him now to give us a modern history of the ancient city. The auspices are very favorable.

RICHARD BRILLIANT
Columbia University

W. ROBERT CONNOR. *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 218. $8.50.

In the fifth century B.C. a conservative Athenian leader drew his political strength from many small groups of friends. Pericles, on the contrary, put himself deliberately at a distance from such friends in order to enhance his strength with the undifferentiated Athenian mass. Cleon went a step further for the same reason. He was not really a lower-class type, as Aristophanes makes him seem, but a rich and clever man who, while he could have taken—had he wanted—a place in the world of clubs and powerful, special friends, instead explicitly repudiated the so-called best people and identified himeslf with the "base" (*poneroi*). Pericles and Cleon were innovators, but the rise of rhetoric also had a part in these changes, as it did in a decline in the power of the generalship and a lowering of the age at which men became political leaders. Friendship, however, continued to be a principal way of getting the city's business done, in a city whose political life was ubiquitously and vigorously polycentric.

This rough summary of a lively and gener-

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ally convincing book omits notice of a number of fine observations that enrich it throughout. One matter, however, needs comment. There is an evocation of a successful conservative politician's career, repeated at least once in the course of the book, in which the man is made to seem to float gracefully to power and eminence on washes of luck, good family, and easy benefactions. He is withal prudent. His "heart is captivated by a woman who happens to belong to a wealthy and influential family," and he shows himself "affable, sensible, reliable" at clubby meetings of the right people. But this amiable fantasy ignores certain assumptions that should underlie speculation about Athenian political life. Men were exiled and murdered, both outside the legal system and within, for being on the wrong side. A politically ambitious benefactor had dependent friends and supporters sitting near him at meetings of the ekklesia, and they made proper noises at useful times. Successful politicians have perfect memories for favors given and received and a clear understanding of how to enforce these obligations. One might consequently have felt in a book about Athenian politics more of a sense of their cold-eyed assessments of resources and their literally murderous competitiveness. There is no question, however, that Professor Connor has made a good contribution to our understanding of ways in which power could be acquired at Athens during a time of important change.

ALAN L. BOEGEHOLD
Brown University

F. E. PETERS. *The Harvest of Hellenism: A History of the Near East from Alexander the Great to the Triumph of Christianity*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1970. Pp. 800. $15.00.

The book jacket of *The Harvest of Hellenism* calls it "historical writing at its most ambitious." The claim (with usual allowance for the beloved American superlative) is well justified. It is certainly a most ambitious synthesis. In a single volume the author, who is professor of classics and Near Eastern studies at New York University, has attempted to deal with the whole range of cultural and historical phenomena of "Eastern Hellenism" from the death of Alexander until the late fourth century A.D. His purview includes not only the Near East strictly speaking but also pertinent developments elsewhere in the Mediterranean area and in adjacent territories as far as India and Turkestan; not only the immediate phenomena but also their background; not only political, economic, and military events but also philosophy, religion, art, science, and literature. One is reminded that the book covers much of the ground of the last seven volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (from which its ten line maps are borrowed). Even the mode of presentation is similar in that chapter headings, like the volume titles of the *History*, indicate only the leading aspect of the contents: thus "Hellenes and Jews" covers, by a natural extension, the Seleucid successor states in the East and, as a kind of digression, the history of Greek-Indian connections down to the Kushan Empire (whose history and character are described in a later chapter entitled "Classic and Baroque"). In the whole work there is not a single exact reference to textual authority, the occasional footnotes giving added bits of information or more frequently cross-reference to another section of the book. An "Informal Guide to Some Further Reading" describes briefly some books and essays grouped by topics, with the odd omissions characteristic of such surveys—von Arnim for the Stoics, for example, but not Usener for Epicureanism, and no up-to-date guide like Lesky's for Greek literature. An eighteen-page chronology, especially useful for political figures and events, is in some respects equally idiosyncratic (for instance, dates of Varro, Lucretius, the poet Gallus but no mention of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, nor the vital dates of Cicero).

Despite all the pitfalls and the criticisms to which so personal, wide-ranging, and undocumented a work is naturally exposed, it is an extraordinarily successful venture—full in its factual coverage, readable in its style, and sane and accurate in most of its interpretations, which range from such matters as the nature of the Aetolian League or literary quarrels in Alexandria to explanations of the class system and its strains in the Empire, Plotinus and his philosophy, the history of Mithraism, and the origins of Christian monasticism. In a confident and continuous narrative of this sort

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there are many choices to be made amidst conflicting evidence. Sometimes one would wish for less assurance, as in dating Zoroaster so exactly ("*c.* B.C. 628–551"), in making Plutarch simply monotheistic, in accepting Cicero's view of Nigidius Figulus as the originator of a revived Pythagoreanism, and in following exclusively Eusebius's account of the events of A.D. 310–13. More often, however, the ambiguities in our present knowledge are met by sensible weighing of the probabilities, as for the life and background of Mani (where the new papyrus evidence was not yet available to the author), or by discreet silence, as for the chronology of the life of Christ. Sometimes wrong choices are made, as in following the *Historia Augusta* and placing figures of Abraham and Jesus in Severus Alexander's *lararium,* in making transcendent *eide* the essential feature of Plato's philosophy, and in following a somewhat antiquated view of Posidonius. Outright blunders, such as saying that Ashoka's edicts were written in Aramaic, are remarkably rare; and there are few mechanical errors like the misprints and inconsistency of dates that dog the account of Apollonius of Perga.

For some people surely the two greatest weaknesses of the book will be reflections of its greatest strengths. First, the extraordinarily wide coverage leads to unusual compression of statement. Sometimes the result is a confusing welter, as in the pages (154–65) given to the varying fortunes of Ptolemaic and Seleucid rivalry; sometimes the exposition jumps about so much in time and place that it appears confused as well as confusing, as in the three pages (526–28) on the classes in the Empire. When one considers that the essentials of Gnosticism, for example, are described quite clearly in a single page and the history of the Greek romance in a page-and-a-half digression in a discussion of Lucian, the usual success is far more remarkable than the occasional failure. Second, the lively style may well offend those whom it does not attract. It is self-consciously "mod"—one chapter is called "Life Styles and Life Sciences"—as well as sophisticated and ironic. At worst it may appear merely puckish, as in the footnote describing Antinoöpolis as "named for the Bithynian youth after whom Hadrian sighed, in the Greek style, for some years," or in the phrase describing enforced converts to Judaism as "those recently converted at and by the end of a Hasmonaean sword." Vividness and a distinctive tone give the work life and movement, but occasionally at a price.

All in all this book is a fascinating combination of a smooth-flowing narrative and a concise encyclopedia written with concern and judgment. An expert will feel that each page could stand some qualifications or addenda, but he should welcome the high standard of presentation; a layman may well find that too much is taken for granted and feel at sea in places, but he will recognize the intellectual integrity and breadth. One might make the single general criticism that the book dwells too exclusively in the world of intellectual and literary men. Amidst the talk of rulers and philosophers and schools there is almost no use of the materials showing what common men and women felt and thought, what participation in Greek and Roman religion really involved, for example, or how men faced death. In its emphases it reflects strongly the previous work and interests of its author. But where so much has been included in a book that can be warmly recommended for its soundness and readability, it is appropriate rather to congratulate the author for his achievement and the publishers for a very well-produced volume.

ZEPH STEWART
Harvard University

GEORGES DUMÉZIL. *Archaic Roman Religion.* With an appendix on the religion of the Etruscans. In two volumes. Translated by PHILIP KRAPP. Foreword by MIRCEA ELIADE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xxx, 394; vi, 397–715. $25.00 the set.

This is a translation of the author's one-volume work, *La religion romain archaique, avec un appendice sur la religion des Étrusques* (1966). After some forty years of research on the origins of Roman religion by the comparative method, Georges Dumézil treats Rome and its religion "in themselves, for themselves, as a whole." "Without surrendering the advantages of the comparative method," he here adds "the other traditional ways of knowing."

The principal thesis of Dumézil's long and

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distinguished scholarly labors is that early Roman religious ritual and political history are the result of the transference to the human plane of the mythology common to the peoples of the Indo-European language groups, notably the Sanskrit, Vedic, Germanic, and Celtic. He rejects the primitivist *mana-numen* theory of Herbert J. Rose *et al.* and the "pontifical revolution" of Kurt Latte. The archaic triad, Jupiter-Mars-Quirinus, and their counterparts in the three Grabouic deities among the Umbrians at Iguvium find their correspondents in the Vedic Mitra-Varuna–Indra–Nasatya and Scandinavian Odinn-Thorr-Freyr triads. This religious structure divides the domain of life into the functional spheres of sovereignty, physical power, fertility, and prosperity. The origin and significance of the Capitoline Triad, Jupiter-Juno-Minerva "constitute a problem for which, in the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to provide a final solution" (p. 291).

The basic thesis is outlined in part 1, the preliminary remarks. Part 2 deals with ancient theology and closes volume 1. In volume 2, part 3 discusses the extensions and mutations experienced by Roman religion, notably under the influence of foreign religions. Part 4 on the cults, *sacra publica et privata,* is followed by an appendix, "The Religion of the Etruscans," which has "enriched the structure of Roman religion without dislocating it."

For the historian the principal question that Dumézil's work poses is whether the accounts of the most ancient period are *exclusively* Indo-European myths transformed into history. Accepting the parallelisms—the war of Romulus and Tatius and the conflict of Aesir and Vanir in Scandinavian lore (pp. 66–75), Romulus and Remus and the divine twins of Indian mythology (pp. 252–55), and many others—is it possible to distinguish persons and events that have a certain historical value, as Mommsen does, in the legends that for him are projections into the past of names and events of early history? Does Dumézil leave any place for the historian in the earliest period of Rome when he writes (p. 252) that "the accounts of the earliest period of Rome are *in large part* humanized and historicized mythology"? (italics mine).

O. W. REINMUTH
University of Texas

JOACHIM SZIDAT. *Caesars diplomatische Tätigkeit im Gallischen Krieg.* (Historia: Einzelschriften Number 14.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1970. Pp. 162. DM 28.

This book studies a neglected aspect of Caesar's Gallic campaigns, namely his diplomatic contacts with the various tribes and the manner in which these are presented to the reader. Only at the beginning and the end is the wider question of the trustworthiness of Caesar's narrative briefly raised, and here, after presenting a useful summary of views, the author steers a middle course, admitting the likelihood of bias for political ends, but stressing the extent to which actual misrepresentation would be limited by the existence of reports to the senate and those of numerous eyewitnesses.

Szidat systematically describes and analyzes all Caesar's accounts of diplomatic activity. The space allotted to dealings with the Helvetii, the Aedui, and Ariovistus reflects the emphasis Caesar himself gives to his first year in Gaul. Having presented his early diplomacy in extended form to set the tone, Caesar could thereafter be briefer: more important, it was crucial to represent the dubious actions of 58 B.C. in a favorable light. The arguments Caesar gives to Gauls and Germans are not always the same as he gives his readers, but Szidat shows that he was at pains to follow correct protocol, especially with Ariovistus, who, as friend and ally of the Roman people, presented a tricky problem: only when the latter had shown himself an arrogant barbarian who was impossible to deal with diplomatically did Caesar resort to armed force. The rest of Caesar's diplomacy broadly follows the lines initially laid down, and he is careful to show that the feckless legate Sabinus, victim of Ambiorix's ruses, failed to follow the proper practices in parleying with the foe.

Caesar's choice of material and his manner of literary representation are considered next, and the various typical arguments enumerated, the commonest being the duty of Rome to her allies (as interpreted by Caesar). One interesting general feature of Caesar's diplomacy is his close observance of traditional Roman customs, though never to the point of inflexibility: while emulating the eastern conquests of Pompey, Caesar wished to appear more truly in the Roman mold than his rival.

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This useful piece of writing is of interest to students both of ancient diplomacy and of Caesar. Its main flaw is the lack of a wider, more imaginative approach: one is left with the suspicion that Caesar has once again outwitted his commentators.

E. M. WIGHTMAN
McMaster University

A. H. M. JONES. *Augustus.* (Ancient Culture and Society.) New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1970. Pp. xi, 196. $6.00.

This is the fifth in the Ancient Culture and Society series. It is an excellent study for anyone wishing to learn about current scholarly opinion concerning Augustus and his age. The powers of the author in synthesizing vast amounts of information into a small book are positively Thucydidean.

After a very full and satisfactory survey of Augustus's life there are special chapters on the Augustan constitution, magistrates, senate, provinces, armed forces, finance, justice, social and religious policies, and literature and art. In an important final chapter the author carefully analyzes the ancient sources and concludes that the best full-length ancient account of Augustus's reign is found in Cassius Dio's *History of Rome.*

The work abounds in revealing insights. We learn that Augustus's power rested not on the nobles but on the lesser senators and the upper stratum of Equestrians. Velleius is cited to show that Egyptian revenues after Actium went directly into the Aerarium; thus Egypt was not a part of Augustus's household as some have inferred from remarks of Tacitus. More startling perhaps is the author's insistence that the standards of Augustus's provincial administration probably did not improve much on those of the Republic and that businessmen and financiers were always a minority in the Equestrian order: later under Augustus the *equites* became a class of landed gentry.

Clearly Jones suggests a more favorable view of Augustus than did Syme in his *Roman Revolution* of 1939. But Jones uses the numismatic evidence very sparingly and does not seem to attach much significance to Augustan propaganda and the "selling of the principate." Despite the great Augustan achievement outlined here one is still suspicious that the price paid in freedom for the Augustan settlement by the Roman educated classes was much too high for Rome's future.

JAMES E. SEAVER
University of Kansas

SIR RONALD SYME. *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the* Historia Augusta. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. vii, 306. $10.50.

With this volume, and with its recent predecessor, *Ammianus and the* Historia Augusta (1968), Sir Ronald Syme has made himself in just three years the leading authority in a controversy now more than eighty years old. No one but Ernst Hohl, the longtime proprietor of the *Historia Augusta* (*HA*) debate, has done so much to expose the personality of these round-heeled, winking biographies of second- and third-century emperors. Syme writes not to orient the uninitiated or the neutral, but as a partisan promoting controversy. Yet these two books are the most comprehensive guide to the *HA* that now exists. He has pronounced himself on virtually every problem—authorship, date, purpose, sources, and authenticity—and in so doing he has expertly arraigned and shaken out the several bibliographies that cluster around the text. At the same time he has investigated a number of more narrowly defined topics to which he is the first or largest contributor.

The eighteen essays of *Emperors and Biography* lead in many directions. Some continue and enlarge upon themes of the earlier book. Syme urges that researchers take a fresh start by recognizing the *HA* as a production unified by characteristic usages and structure. And with the admiration of one professional for another's knowing satirization of their discipline, he again calls attention to the perverse accomplishments of the writer responsible for the *HA*. In several chapters he attempts to deduce the character of certain sources employed in the earlier lives, the lost Marius Maximus and two postulated works, one a series of biographies, the other an extensive epitome; his exposition entails a skillful dissection of the biographies of Hadrian, Pius, Verus, and Macrinus. Seven of these studies are spent in an effort to transcend the suave hariolations of the *HA*. Attending to the heuristic categories that

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underlie all his work—strategic roads and lands, the origins and careers of persons, marital alliances and factions—Syme recovers portions, though miserably small portions, of the true history of the emperors from Severus Alexander to Diocletian. There are still other essays that escape this enumeration. Among them are two of the best in the book, an investigation of the patterns by which personal names have been faked and an exposé of the procedures by which the biographer concocted the first five lives of pretenders and heirs apparent.

The book is not so elegantly structured as Syme's earliest works. The essays overlap, though to some extent necessarily; it is a more serious objection that in some cases the component parts of an ideally coherent argument emerge in different connections through the book. These disadvantages, together with the restriction of the index to an *index nominum* and the choice of chapter titles that do little to disclose the breadth of topics treated in each study, make a valuable series of explorations less accessible than they should be.

PETER WHITE
University of Chicago

JOHN FERGUSON. *The Religions of the Roman Empire.* (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. 296. $8.50.

No proper understanding of life in the Roman Empire is really possible without some knowledge of the bewildering number of religions and religious philosophies that dominated the Roman scene from the first to the fourth centuries A.D. John Ferguson, whose decade of experience in Nigeria provided him with remarkable first-hand experience not only in exploration of the Roman Empire but also in comparative study of African religions with Roman religions, was motivated to write a new book that would supplement and update T. R. Glover's *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* (1920). Ferguson has gone beyond the literary evidence, which was Glover's principal focus, and made extensive use of the archeological evidence of the last half century in order to show how these various religions arose, conflicted, and sometimes fused with the traditional religions of Greece, Rome, and the northern countries and also how they interacted with Judaism and Christianity. Particularly noteworthy are examples generously drawn from British classical archeology to provide support for some of Professor Ferguson's observations.

The concentration of *The Religions of the Roman Empire* is on the third century, but the author does not limit himself to this century chronologically. He sweeps widely over a great deal of ground that the historian of religions would probably wish to have examined more slowly and more generously. Such topics as the Great Mother, the Sky Father, the Sun-God, divine functionaries, Tyche, the sacred figure of the emperor, personal religion, the afterlife, divination of the future, shamans and shams, philosophers and the gods, and syncretism and confrontation are brought before the reader with dazzling rapidity and forceful erudition and are backed up by a formidable chapter-by-chapter bibliography and notes and appropriately illustrated from the archeological evidence. We do not get in this book a theologically or religiously profound, synthetic view of the great variety of religions that permeated the Roman world but rather a kind of historical catalog or encyclopedic exposure to a great number of religious, semireligious, and even pseudoreligious phenomena that were important and are quite interesting. Almost any section of this book could be read independently and the astute student will perhaps wish the book had some kind of unity. The style is direct enough but this is hardly the kind of book that makes for smooth, uninterrupted reading.

Still, even though *The Religions of the Roman Empire* is not comparable to the work of an A. D. Nock, a Martin P. Nilsson, or an A. J. Festugière, it is competent, necessary, and welcome. Students of ancient history should especially consult it.

JOHN E. REXINE
Colgate University

JAROSLAV PELIKAN. *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine.* Volume 1, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600).* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971. Pp. xxiii, 394. $15.00.

This is the first of a projected five volumes that will present a history of the development of Christian doctrine from about A.D. 100 to the

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twentieth century. The author, who is professor of religious studies at Yale University, has undertaken the task with the special intention of providing a comprehensive history of the development of "what the Christian church believed, taught, and confessed." The analysis of the theological factors forms the sole purpose of the study, in contrast to other methods of exposition in which nontheological influences, such as political history, may tend to distract attention from the evolution of essential doctrine. The work is based on the primary sources, cited here in translation, and is addressed both to students of theology and church history and to students of intellectual history who are concerned with the influential ideas contained in Christian doctrine. Two of the author's preceding works, *Development of Christian Doctrine: Some Historical Prolegomena* (1969) and *Historical Theology: Continuity and Change in Christian Doctrine* (1971), provide the historical background for the present study and show the methodological assumptions on which the work is based (p. 361).

This volume will be of value to historians who are concerned to understand the doctrinal results of the activity of the church in the Greco-Roman world; the succeeding volumes may be expected to render like service. The writer's learning and his gift of clear exposition are evident on every page. Beginning with an account of the religious and intellectual background of the period of the origin of the church, Professor Pelikan treats systematically its sources of faith, the mystery of the Trinity, the person of the God-man, and nature and grace; and he closes with a summary of the achievement in the sixth century of what he terms "an orthodox consensus about what was to be regarded as normative" in doctrine (p. 332).

Scholars and students will welcome the present volume and look forward to those that are to follow.

GLANVILLE DOWNEY
Indiana University, Bloomington

FRANK M. CLOVER. *Flavius Merobaudes: A Translation and Historical Commentary.* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 61, Part 1.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1971. Pp. 78. $3.00.

Interest in late Roman panegyrists as sources for the history of their times has quickened in recent years. The best of them, Claudian, has been the subject of perceptive study. Now a lesser figure, the fifth-century poet Flavius Merobaudes, receives the attention of a monograph, which presents for the first time an English prose translation of, and a historical commentary on, the extant fragments of his work. An appendix includes the complete Latin text (without apparatus) as established by Vollmer.

Clover is obviously at home in his period, and his familiarity with the ancient sources and modern literature concerning Merobaudes is exemplary. He has produced a study, which, within limits, can be read profitably by historians of late antiquity. His translation conveys the sense of Merobaudes' allusive style and will be a serviceable aid to scholarship. The author has also reinterpreted the significance and dating of Merobaudes' panegyrics, but his new views will result in only minor changes in our conception of the period. Thus, he argues convincingly (pp. 32–41) that *Panegyric I* is not, as commonly supposed, a *laudatio* in honor of the general Aetius and composed in 437, but rather a *gratiarum actio* datable to 443–46. The author is aware of the difficulties inherent in drawing historical conclusions from a genre of literature that combines propaganda and poetic fancy. On this point the reader should consult Alan Cameron's *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (1970), which was published too recently for Clover to cite.

WILLIAM G. SINNIGEN
Hunter College, City College of New York

MEDIEVAL

JOLE MAZZOLENI. *Paleografia e diplomatica e scienze ausiliarie.* Naples: Libreria Scientifica Editrice. 1970. Pp. 474, 53 plates. L. 10,000.

Full-fledged treatment of all of the medievalist's traditional auxiliary sciences within the covers of a single volume is an idea that has been somewhat out of fashion. The present volume, a revision of the author's *Lezioni di*

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Paleografia e Diplomatica (1964), partially resurrects the old idea and in doing so shows that there were some good, if not conclusive, reasons for its earlier interment. Studies on each of these sciences have so proliferated that it is very difficult for any one scholar to keep up to date on all of them, and, even if he could, it would be almost impossible to compress his knowledge within a single manageable volume. Professor Mazzoleni has made a valiant and in some respects an admirable effort, but she has not entirely succeeded in overcoming the difficulties, even by having other specialists contribute brief and useful chapters on heraldry (Ferdinando Acton di Leporano), numismatics (Giovanni Bovi), weights and measures (Catello Salvati), and sigillography (Antonio Allocati), as well as a chapter on transcribing documents (Luigi Pescatore). The treatment accorded to paleography and diplomatics touches on all phases of these subjects. With respect to paleography, on which I prefer to concentrate, the generous attention paid to the often-neglected documentary scripts is particularly welcome. The author maintains an independent approach, but for the most part she follows the lead of Luigi Schiaparelli, Giulio Battelli, or Giorgio Cencetti. Although the work of these masters is inevitably aging and although the author makes some new contributions, her work does not replace either Battelli's *Lezioni di Paleografia* (3d ed., 1949) or Cencetti's *Lineamenti di Storia della Scrittura Latina* (1954). For an introductory survey, too much space is devoted to recounting past controversies, while important current views are completely neglected, for example, Bernhard Bischoff's opinions on the development of Caroline minuscule. Mention is made of the theories of Jean Mallon on the scripts of the Roman epoch, but neither his nor Robert Marichal's views are dealt with in adequate fashion. And a disproportionate amount of space is accorded to Italian, particularly south Italian, materials at the expense of other deserving subjects. Punctuation, for example, is dispatched in one page. In the bibliographies appended to each chapter even experts may find materials of whose existence they were unaware, but they will also be surprised by what is overlooked and dismayed by the number of works cited incorrectly.

Somewhat ironically, one of the features that detracts from the book's usefulness as a general introduction to the auxiliary sciences, namely its overemphasis on materials from Italy, turns out to constitute its special value. Any scholar interested in the medieval manuscripts and documents from this region will find here many rewards. The numerous plates in the volume, although many are unfortunately of very poor quality, will be welcomed for the same reason. They reproduce a large number of Italian documentary and humanistic scripts. Also welcome are the transcriptions provided for most of the facsimiles.

JAMES J. JOHN
Cornell University

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE. *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1969. Pp. xx, 244. $12.50.

Professor Brundage's stated purpose is to provide "a study of the crusades as a canonistic institution." What he has actually written is an important volume on a narrower topic, the crusader's vow and the web of privileges, spiritual and temporal, that it entailed. The most important legal question involving the crusader, the justice of the war in which he engaged—an important question in the canonistic literature—is not discussed in any detail.

Following Michel Villey, Brundage argues that "the mechanism of the vow made it possible for the Church to turn this enthusiasm [for the crusade] into a binding commitment" so that after the initial fervor evaporated a system of legally binding sanctions could be applied to the laggard. Brundage's major contribution is to describe in detail the development of canonistic thinking on the vow and what it entailed. Where Villey argued that crusade legislation was a new development within canon law to meet a new situation, Brundage is able to show clearly that in fact the canonists were adapting old regulations concerning pilgrims to meet the special needs of a special kind of pilgrim, a pilgrim bound also to engage in a holy war. Furthermore, he has benefited from a generation of interest in medieval canon law so that where Villey spoke of the legal status of the crusader in general terms, Brundage is able to cite a number of specific legal points concerning the vow and the opinions of the lawyers on these

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points. Where Villey had a small amount of canonistic material available to him, Brundage's bibliography contains six pages of printed and manuscript canonistic materials.

Finally, Brundage raises an interesting question about the canonists that deserves further study. Why, so far as we know, did no canonist write a full-length treatise on the crusade? So important a subject should have elicited a thorough treatment and, as he notes, Hostiensis, among others, mentioned the lack, but no one seems to have remedied it. Although Professor Brundage has not considered all the aspects of the crusader's status in canon law, he has paved the way for future studies in this model study.

JAMES MULDOON
Rutgers University, Camden

CHARLES T. WOOD. *The Age of Chivalry: Manners and Morals, 1000–1450.* New York: Universe Books. 1970. Pp. 175. $10.00.

RICHARD BARBER. *The Knight & Chivalry.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1970. Pp. x, 383. $12.50.

Despite the similarity of titles, these two books have little in common in their subject matter. They are both, however, written for the general reader or beginning student and share a certain amateurishness of approach—this in spite of the fact that Dr. Wood is the author of other highly professional books. While almost entirely lacking in originality, they will serve a highly useful purpose. Dr. Wood's book is an excellent introduction to social life in the high and later Middle Ages, while Mr. Barber has brought together material on chivalry hitherto only available in various monographs.

Dr. Wood's study of life and manners in the period 900–1450 is very readable. Economic and social relationships are his chief concern as he sets forth his views on the peasantry, the nobles, and the Church in three principal periods. These views tend to be traditional (that is, in the scholarly world) and at times would be considered outmoded by many. Curiously, although his specialized work has been on thirteenth-century themes, his opening pages on "The World of the Millennium" are perhaps the best. Of course he disposes of the notion that Europe awaited the year 1000 A.D. in terrified anticipation. His section on the "High Middle Ages" is adequate if uninspired. Most readers will be very hesitant to accept his gloomy view of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as set forth in his epilogue. There are signs of haste here, and the overall picture of dire calamity and collapse is unacceptable—at least to me. Apt if conventional quotations and illustrations help the book along. Altogether a book well worth putting in the hands of a beginning student or an interested friend.

Mr. Barber's work is also a piece of generalized popularization. Here chivalry is the core of the book. By taking a more restricted topic than Dr. Wood he is able to assemble a mass of information that is simply unavailable in any other single volume, at least in English. A much bigger, more scholarly work is needed in this field. Yet in trying to bring together the literary tradition of chivalry and the practice of knighthood in a single volume, Mr. Barber has done yeoman service. There is a total absence of the gushing sentimentality and the acid skepticism that has marred so many writings on similar themes. Yet one is brought up short by such assertions as that knights draw their ideas of love from the romances. Such failures of insight could be cited many times over. But no one else has hitherto brought together the themes of military knighthood, knightly tenure, romance, chivalric orders, and the idea of the crusade. Mr. Barber may blur the lines between fact and fantasy at times, but it will take a formidable scholar to get the whole thing right. In the meantime his book is far the best yet written for the student who is interested in the codes, conduct, and imaginings of medieval knights.

MICHAEL R. POWICKE
University of Toronto

HILARY L. TURNER. *Town Defences in England and Wales: An Architectural and Documentary Study, AD 900–1500.* [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1971. Pp. 246. $9.00.

Miss Turner has aimed her book at dating surviving defenses, analyzing why they were built, how they were paid for, and what uses they served. Dividing her treatment of the subject into six all-too-short chapters, she uses some

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eighty pages to examine the historical context in which town wall building arose. The major part of the book is devoted to a gazetteer listing walled towns from seven sections of England and Wales.

The author must have had great fun visiting her sites, although envious beginners should know of dangers as well as joys—nettles flourish around ancient walls. A major nettle in architectural history seems to be linearity, the description of points along a wall. Towers of so-many feet (meters) in diameter are connected by curtain walls so-many feet (meters) long with mural bastions at intervals of so-many feet (meters). Miss Turner rounds her linearity with historical chapters in which she attempts to answer the questions that arise out of centuries of town wall building. But over a period of six hundred years, 900–1500, the treatment is necessarily thin. Conway and Caernarvon, for example, were military units in the Welsh wars of Edward I, as well as towns. Their form, siting, construction, and original planting reflected the needs for security, advance base depots, and supply that Edward met in his conquest of Wales. Berwick, unlike Conway and Caernarvon, has not been treated in detail. Its fortifications were indeed begun before 1313 (p. 78), as the documents describe. In fact Edward started on them immediately after his forces stormed Berwick's earthworks in 1296. These new fortifications protected a reformed town that became the major port and advance base depot for Edward's Scottish wars. Similar considerations could be made for Carlisle and perhaps nearly as much for other towns.

This book raises the question of whether the history of building, to be made fully useful, requires structures to be placed as parts of a wider framework than themselves. Miss Turner has range and sweep to her book, certainly; what is wanting are the circumstances underlying the construction and maintenance of those walls. She applies her historical imagination admirably in analyzing details of construction. Some parts of the book provide information not to be found elsewhere, and her long gazetteer sections on such towns as Newcastle, Yarmouth, and Tenby are invaluable. Overall, it is a useful survey.

A. Z. FREEMAN
College of William and Mary

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL, editor. *Records of Some Sessions of the Peace in the City of Lincoln, 1351–1354, and the Borough of Stamford, 1351.* (Publications of the Lincoln Record Society, Volume 65.) Lincoln: J. W. Ruddock and Sons, for the Society. 1971. Pp. xxx, 67. £4.00.

This Peace Roll concerns history, law, and genealogy, and it is the sixth such volume that Elisabeth Kimball has edited. Her professional skill makes it a model of economy, for instead of translating each Latin entry verbatim, she gives a neat, compact précis of its main points. An illuminating introduction describes the way the courts did their business, how the clerks put the rolls together from notes taken in court on scraps of parchment (as were the early Year Books), the qualifications of the justices, and the dates (outside the law terms) of the sessions. The cases are common felonies and a variety of trespasses by wrongdoers called "common malefactors," "disturbers of the peace," "nightwalkers," and "night peepers through doors and windows." The penalties imposed, from fines to hanging, seem disproportionate to the offenses and to one another but perhaps not to the convict's status or repute. For the genealogist, there are many names and next of kin (well indexed), but his clients may not like to learn about their Lincoln progenitors' crimes and punishments. Clearly, Elisabeth Kimball has succeeded to Bertha Putnam's position as scholarly authority on medieval crime and justice in shire and city.

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.
Yale University

YVES RENOUARD. *The Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403.* Translated by DENIS BETHELL. [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1970. Pp. 157. $7.50.

With the English translation in 1963 of G. Mollat's standard work *The Popes at Avignon 1305–1378* and with the appearance in the last decade or so of a number of major studies (e.g., by Zacour, Guillemain, Favier, and Esch) that both demand and permit the construction of a new synthesis, Renouard's compendium seems rather out of date. Originally a modest and cheap little paperback in the Que sais-je? series (1954), it now appears in English as an expensive hardback, aimed at "pupils who do not read French" and who, presumably, do not have enough time to read Mollat. In any case

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the book exists, and we must now consider its merits. First, Renouard, unlike Mollat, covered the Avignon popes of the Schism (at least until 1403), and rightly—even though the translator has imposed his personal belief that Clement VII and Benedict XIII were antipopes by putting their names in single quotes. Second, since Renouard had no interest in Mollat's apologetic intention to refute the idea that France dominated the Avignon papacy, he could give due emphasis to more important matters—like the geopolitical significance of Avignon in relation to papal concern with France, England, and the North generally, the remarkable effect of the papal stay in making Avignon a major economic center of the South, the cultural importance of the papal court, and the alleged relationship between the institutionalization of papal government and the insensitivity of the Church to the vital spiritual currents of the time. Everything is too brief, and sometimes what seems to be novelty is merely a manipulation of stereotyped categories of late-medieval history (such as the nation-state, secularization, or humanism), but often enough Renouard's socioeconomic orientation suggests the lines along which the new synthesis will probably emerge. If, as suggested above, his book is out of date, it is also prophetic. It has the quota of errors and bad generalizations usual in such works, and the translator has noted two or three of them; he has also, more conscientiously, provided an up-to-date bibliography.

HOWARD KAMINSKY
University of Washington

MICHAEL JONES. *Ducal Brittany, 1364–1399: Relations with England and France during the Reign of Duke John IV.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. xxi, 250. $11.25.

In the middle of the fourteenth century John de Montfort, nephew of the late Duke John III of Brittany, and Joan de Penthièvre, niece of the same duke, engaged in civil war over succession to the duchy. With the defeat and death of Joan's husband in 1364 Charles V of France recognized Montfort, who became Duke John IV. Brought up at the court of Edward III who gave him indispensable aid in the civil war, John was caught for the remainder of his life between the French king, who expected him to be either a faithful vassal or a neutral magnate, and the English king, who required grateful compensation for past assistance and cooperation in his dynastic struggle against France. The Hundred Years' War contributed much significance and complexity to this topic.

This is not, therefore, a social and economic history of a French province, as a first glance at the title may lead some to infer. The subtitle suggests the content of the book, for it is a study in medieval diplomacy and political relationships, a closely argued thesis that John IV of Brittany did not wish to side with either his English patron or his French lord but to establish and maintain an autonomous duchy. In the process, Mr. Jones disputes and seeks to revise the opinions of La Borderie, Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, and Planiol, who insisted that John's household was an English fifth column in France and that the duke himself was politically inept and an Anglophile for most of his life. So persistently does the author defend his thesis that a chapter on ducal government is not a study of bureaucracy and administration but a demonstration that John's council was not dominated by Englishmen and that his governmental organization was not inspired by English procedures but was modeled on, or similar to, that of other French duchies.

The English honor of Richmond and the Breton nobility were important factors in John's maneuvering with the two monarchs. Perhaps if John could have divested himself of the desire or need for the former, his search for independence would have been easier. While the author recognizes the Breton seigneurs as an influence in the duke's policy, they may well have been the most important, and the duke's inability to secure and retain their support may have been his greatest failure. One wishes that Mr. Jones had given more detailed treatment to this group. And genealogical tables would have been helpful in a study that concerns ducal dynasties.

FRANKLIN J. PEGUES
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SALVATORE TRAMONTANA. *I Normanni in Italia: Linee di ricerca sui primi insediamenti.* Volume 1, *Aspetti politici e militari.* (Università degli

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Studi di Messina, Facoltà di Magistero. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia "Vittorio de Capraríis," Number 2.) *Messina: Peloritana* Editrice. 1970. Pp. 215. L. 4,000.

This study represents the first of a series of volumes that the author is projecting dealing with the establishment of a Norman Kingdom of Two Sicilies in southern Italy. It covers in four chapters the period down to 1046 when the three Norman principalities had appeared there. The first chapter deals with southern Italy on the eve of the Norman arrival in the late tenth century. The second summarizes the Normans' Scandinavian past and their establishment in Normandy itself. The third tells of Viking incursions that reached Italy and the first contacts of Normans with the region. The fourth is a detailed political study of their establishment in this part of Italy down to 1046. Extensive use is made throughout of Italian, Western European, and Byzantine sources that mention Scandinavian Viking and later Norman contacts and activities in southern Italy during the period covered. These sources are critically examined and the information they contain correlated to produce a coherent story.

Unfortunately this book suffers from two major deficiencies. In the first place the author wrongly assumes more relationship between the Normans and a Scandinavian past than he has any right to do. By the time the Normans arrived in southern Italy they were Norman French in language, culture, and military and political organization. Except for vague memories the Normans had no links with their Scandinavian ancestral home or with earlier Viking expeditions into the Mediterranean.

Second, the narrative the author presents is lacking in any understanding of the military realities of the time. We find nothing about fortresses and no sense of how the Byzantines organized their southern Italian lands with which Helene Ahrweiler and others have dealt extensively. We learn nothing about how Lombard dukes prepared themselves and their realms for war and no understanding of the way Norman military forces were able to operate. One misses the insights of David Douglas's *Norman Achievement* (1969) or what Whaley has told us of their military practices on the southern Italian scene after 1060. In short the historian is advised to look elsewhere for a coherent explanation of the political and military side of the first Norman establishment in this part of Europe.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

GIOACCHINO VOLPE. *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa: Città e contado, consoli e podestà, secoli XII–XIII.* New edition with an introduction by CINZIO VIOLANTE. (Biblioteca storica Sansoni, New Series, Number 48.) [Florence:] G. C. Sansoni Editore. 1970. Pp. lxvii, 523. L. 6,000.

Late in 1971, having long passed his ninetieth birthday, Gioacchino Volpe died. His influence on medieval Italian historiography has remained remarkably strong, particularly if one considers that his last monograph dealing with medieval history was published in 1913. In the course of the past decade many of his works have been reprinted. First published in 1902, his *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa,* one of the earliest and weightier of his monographs, presented Volpe's long-debated theories regarding the origins of the Italian communes and the social composition of the Italian urban elites during the communal and late medieval periods. In the course of the past thirty or more years many of Volpe's ideas—those dealing with the general process by which urban centers grew in Italy, as well as those concerned more directly with Pisan history—have been subjected to a series of often damaging criticisms. The work of Ottokar, Sestan, Cristiani, and Herlihy make it possible for us to examine the historical questions that Volpe addressed from a more interesting perspective and to reach subtler and more satisfactory conclusions about the course of Italian history.

But one of the real gifts of Gioacchino Volpe, an attribute that Cinzio Violante rightly stresses in his sympathetic and judicious introduction to the reprint of this work, was Volpe's concern with capturing the dynamism of history, his attempt to penetrate behind the façade of things, and by drawing together a variety of disparate factors to write what today we describe as *histoire totale.* For this reason, even seventy years after its first publication, a

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rereading of this work can still prove instructive to students of medieval history.

ANTHONY MOLHO
Brown University

ARMANDO SAPORI, editor. *Libro Giallo della Compagnia dei Covoni.* With a study by GIULIO MANDICH. (Pubblicazioni della Direzione degli "Studi Medievali," Number 4.) Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino. 1970. Pp. ccxxiii, 381. L. 35,000.

Among the mercantile families of Florence in the *trecento,* the Covoni were of middling importance. The *Libro Giallo* is an account book that records their operations, chiefly transfers of funds between Florence and Venice or Padua, over the years 1336 to 1340. Armando Sapori, to whom we owe the publication of several similar accounts, has given the *Libro Giallo* a truly magnificent edition. Sapori himself provides a historical introduction to the Covoni family, and Giulio Mandich contributes a long and technical analysis of the varied transactions recorded in the book. Brief biographies of all Covoni who appear in the accounts, family trees, and a thorough analytical index add to the utility of the edition. This type of source will probably most fruitfully be used in conjunction with the other extant account books of the period, as together they provide a unique insight into the commerce and commercial practices of Florentine banks in the fourteenth century.

DAVID HERLIHY
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Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Numbers 23 and 24. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N. Y. 1969–1970. Pp. xiii, 393. $15.00.

The latest *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* a double number for the price of one, is of excellent value. From the 1967 symposium on Justinian and Eastern Christendom (largely published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 22 [1968]) comes an intriguing paper by Professor Antoine Guillaumont on imperial dealings with the Persian Nestorians, who have been somewhat overlooked in considerations of Justinian's often ham-handed religious policies. Guillaumont publishes a supposed dialogue between the emperor and Paul, the Nestorian bishop of Nisibis (in BM Add. MS 14535), from a Syrian Monophysite source, apparently dating from after 561. Information on the actual beliefs of the Nestorians is rare and the document is therefore of great interest, but it should surely not be regarded as an actual *procès-verbal,* any more than are the published discussions between Manuel II Palaiologos and a Muslim teacher. Dr. Averil Cameron's paper on Agathias's two excursuses on the Sasanians also falls into the scope of the 1967 symposium. Virtually no Sasanian literature survives, but the royal annals can be partly reconstructed from later Persian and Arab sources. The most direct and contemporary source for the tradition, however, is in Agathias, and Dr. Cameron's substantial contribution skillfully demonstrates how far the Byzantine chronicler can be relied upon for it.

The 1968 symposium, from which three papers are included, was on after the fall of Constantinople. Professor Halil Inalcık brings much recently available Ottoman material to bear on his study of Mehmed II's treatment of the Greeks of Istanbul. The traditional view of a policy to favor the Greeks and repopulate the city is largely substantiated, although in 1477, Istanbul and Galata numbered only 3,743 Greek and 3,095 "other" families against 9,486 Muslim. There are notable examples of continuity—for example, part of the endowment of Hagia Sophia passed to the *vaqf* of the new mosque (there are parallels in the Pontus). Professor Speros Vryonis's contribution, "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," is a fascinating and wide-ranging preview of his forthcoming book. This field, although of the highest importance, has not been attempted since the more limited research of F. Hasluck and M. Köprülü; now substantially more Ottoman archives can be used, and the real nature and stages of the de-Hellenization of Anatolia are becoming a little clearer. The role of the Turkomans is, surely correctly, emphasized, and the swiftness of the process before the tide turned, demographically, in favor of the Greeks again in the late eighteenth century is revealed. Even so, it is hard to believe Ömer Barkan's figure of only eight per cent for the

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Christian element of Anatolia as early as ca. 1500. Professor Vryonis concludes that by decapitating Byzantine *Hochkultur,* the Turks drove the Greeks to defend a folk culture from which they themselves inherited much. Professor Vryonis has a keen eye for significant detail, but it is perhaps unnecessary to suggest that the Turks are indebted to the Byzantines alone for such Middle Eastern commonplaces as the threshing sledge.

The third paper, on Theophanes the Cretan (*fl.* 1527–59), the leading artist of what was near to being a Byzantine *Hochkultur* that survived, is by Dr. Manolis Chatzidakis, the *doyen* of Byzantine art historians in Greece. This monograph includes biographical documents on the painter of the Meteora and Athos and what amounts to a corpus of his work in 132 black-and-white plates. In the stance of Adam naming the animals in St. Nicholas, Meteora, one wonders if there is not a final echo of the classical statuary in Constantinople, which earlier artists had used in mimesis when depicting Adam.

In other articles Professor Herbert Hunger examines the Byzantine imitation (mimesis) of antique literature in their own. The author is expository and necessarily sympathetic to the discipline—even to the dreadful assemblage of the Christ story in a patchwork of Homer-centos: "the naive and moving attempt to clothe the history of salvation, . . . in that linguistic garb which was most venerable to every Greek. . . ." Professor Ihor Ševčenko publishes and comments, with characteristic skill and thoroughness, on three poems on the death of Leo VI (probably dating before 913) and one on the death of Constantine VII (probably of 959) in the margins of the Madrid Skylitzes. The poems tell the historian little, but, although perhaps derived from formal epitaphs, they are comparatively early examples of the political verse that was to link the two cultures of Byzantium.

Mr. Rowland Mainstone's investigation into the tympanums of Hagia Sophia could be disconcerting. Three carbon-14 dates have a mean of ca. 700 A.D. (± 120–30), which, together with examination of the masonry, suggests that the tympanums were reconstructed after the earthquake of 869. This fits in with the probable date of the mosaics, but it makes one wonder about the condition of the dome, if the reconstruction was as extensive as the author presumes. Professors James Morganstern and Richard Stone have a carbon-14 date of 794 A.D. (± 44) associated with the mosaics in the diakonikon of Dereağzı in their latest report on the church. This suggests that the mosaics and the church must probably be dated soon after 843—that is, if the iconoclast ban really was complete in the provinces. Three tiny fragments of mosaic, which the unwary visitor to the Antalya museum will trip over in a darker corner, are described exhaustively; they seem to add up to a theophany. Professor Cyril Mango provides most useful details on the hitherto botched publication of the graffiti in the dome of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond, on the Palaiologan Infant Cycle in the Chalkoprateia, and on the Stone of Deposition in the Pantokrator, whose iambic inscription he resurrects.

The double volume begins with obituaries of two Dumbarton Oaks professors: Paul Underwood, whose monument is the work in the Kariye Camii and elsewhere in Istanbul, and Romilly Jenkins, its former director of studies and the author of a number of brilliant papers in *DOP.* All Byzantinists and members of Dumbarton Oaks will feel their loss.

ANTHONY BRYER
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Travaux et mémoires. Volume 4. (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines.) Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1970. Pp. 526.

Following the pattern set by its three predecessors volume 4 of *Travaux et mémoires,* published by the Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines under the direction of Professor Paul Lemerle, continues to be subdivided into several main sections.

The initial *mémoire* presents a critical edition and translation, by the group of scholars associated with Professor Lemerle, of the major part, albeit not all, of the Greek sources pertaining to the Paulician heresy. The subsequent dossier is entirely devoted to Gilbert Dagron's investigation of "Les moines et la ville. Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu' au concile de Chalcédoine (451)" in which he traces the urban, social, and often marginally orthodox character of the beginnings of Con-

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stantinopolitan monasticism, its opposition to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the capital, its political role in cooperation with the Alexandrian patriarchs in the Christological controversies of the fifth century, and the ultimate victory of the patriarch of Constantinople over this dissident element through its institutionalization by the middle of the century.

Considerably expanded, the *études et documents* include a larger number of relatively shorter articles on a variety of subjects than did the earlier volumes: J. Grosdidier de Matons's extensive study of a pseudohagiographic moral treatise, "Les thèmes d'édification dans la Vie d'André Salos"; the prosopographic clarifications of W. Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam Ignatiis," and D. Papachryssanthou, "Hiérissos, métropole éphémère au XIVe s."; the systematic analysis by Ch. Astruc of the *Codex Parisinus Graecus 180,* "Le livre III retrouvé du Commentaire de Théodore Méliténiotès sur les Évangiles," which he identifies as a compilation of earlier patristic material rather than the original exegetical treatise it purports to be; and P. Schreiner's "Note sur la fondation de Monembasie en 582–583," confirming the early existence of the city. As in the past, considerable space has been devoted to the publication, translation, and study of hitherto unfamiliar sources: J. Lefort's "Prooimion de Michel, neveu de l'archevêque de Thessalonique, didascale de l'Évangile," one of a group of *Prooimia* of which a general study is planned; J. Gouillard's valuable identification of the *Letter* of the patriarch of Constantinople to the bishop of Larissa, "Une source grecque du Sinodik de Boril: la lettre inédite du patriarche Cosmas," as both a new link between the Byzantine and Bulgarian worlds and a source on Neo-Paulician–Bogomil theology; and finally, M. Balard's detailed account of the disappointing Genoese campaign of 1351–52, "À propos de la bataille du Bosphore: l'expédition génoise de Paganino Doria à Constantinople," to which he appends the log of one of the Genoese galleys, as well as other records, and in which he stresses the support received by the Genoese from the Turkish emirs and the incommensurate expense of the expedition in lost ships and lives, as well as in extraordinary taxation at home.

The usual bibliographical survey, I. Sorlin's useful "Bulletin des publications en langues slaves: recherches soviétiques sur l'histoire byzantine," begun in volume 2 of this series, has now been extended to 1968. To these familiar divisions, the present volume adds the new rubrics: *epigraphica,* containing J.-P. Soldini's brief "Notes sur quelques inscriptions de Chypre," and *Informations,* with G. Dagron and J. Lefort's still briefer but valuable "Missions au Mont-Athos" concerning the communities of Esphigmenou and Russikon and attesting once again the alarming state of the latter foundation.

The excellence of the specialists responsible for *Travaux et mémoires,* under the leadership of Professor Lemerle, is beyond enhancement, and the present volume continues the now firmly established tradition of scrupulous and original scholarship characterizing this series. The critical edition of the Greek Paulician sources with their multiple problems fills a long-standing lacuna, as does their translation into a Western language, albeit Russian versions of the so-called *Histories* of Peter of Sicily and the Patriarch Photius had been made by H. Bartikyan in his *Istochniki dlia izucheniia istorii pavlikianskogo dvizheniia* (Erevan, 1961). Of particular interest are the various versions of Paulician *Abjuration Formulae* given by Jean Gouillard, and, in general, future studies must unquestionably base themselves on all of these texts.

Until the announced publication of Professor Lemerle's more extensive commentary on these sources in his forthcoming history of Paulicianism in Asia Minor (see page 2), the present work must be considered in some sense preliminary. Certain questions remain still: for example, the reason for the acceptance of the much attacked *Histories* attributed to Peter of Sicily and the Patriarch Photius, despite their contradictions and inaccuracies, as authentic sources rather than as compilations (see page 94). Despite the editor's statement that only the "fundamental" Greek sources on the Paulicians are included (p. 1), the selective nature of the present edition might have been made clearer, and some discussion of the basis for the selection would be welcome. Are the *Logoi* that follow the *Histories* to be eliminated as irrelevant? What of the notices in the *Chronicles,* not only the debated passages in the alternate versions of George the Monk (which

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are discussed though not published) but the complementary historical notices found in the *Basileia* of Genesius and the Continuator of Theophanes? Should there not be some mention of the existence of the *Letter* of the Patriarch Theophylakt to Tsar Peter of Bulgaria even though the excellent edition of I. Dujčev, "L'epistole sui Bogomili del Patriarca Constantinopolitano Teofilatto," in volume 2 of *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* (Vatican City, 1964) is available? It is to be hoped also that a parallel edition of the Armenian sources without which any study of Paulicianism must remain dangerously distorted will complete the present publication. Even at this preliminary stage, however, a major contribution to Paulician history has been made through the final establishment of the manuscript histories and the texts of a number of crucial sources. This solid beginning makes us await with all the more impatience the complementary appearance of Professor Lemerle's promised synthesis.

NINA G. GARSOÏAN
Columbia University

ROBERT BROWNING. *Justinian and Theodora.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1971. Pp. 272. $15.00.

Although there are already many books for the general reader on the reign of Justinian and Theodora, Robert Browning's biography is a valuable addition to the list. The general outlines of this portrait of Justinian and his consort are not new, but here the sources for the reign are analyzed thoughtfully to provide a detailed narrative written in a compelling style. The author has attempted "to depict the events as they may have appeared to the emperor himself," and it is the personalities of Justinian, Theodora, and the men who served them that interest Browning rather than the institutions of the sixth century.

Any student of Justinian must deal with the fact that the fullest contemporary description of the emperor's reign comes from the vitriolic *Secret History* of Procopius. Like other modern scholars, Browning has used the information given by Procopius without adopting his viewpoint. In this biography Justinian emerges as a flexible and effective autocrat, and Theodora as an intelligent and loyal partner to the emperor. In one of the most interesting sections of the book the various officials appointed by Justinian are vividly portrayed, and the choice of men as unexpected and talented as Narses and John the Cappadocian is shown as one indication of Justinian's skill as a ruler. Browning's final assessment of Justinian's reign is a favorable one. As other historians have concluded, the emperor's program of reconquest and his attempts to bring about Church unity must be viewed as a single plan for restoration that grew out of concepts shared by Justinian's contemporaries. These ideas made the continuity of the Christian empire a central part of the pattern of history, in which its divine mission could hardly be accomplished if the empire itself no longer existed or if Christianity remained divided. Thus Justinian's wars were not grandiose schemes, but part of a theory that was always central to the empire. Nor could Justinian have foreseen the new invasions that were to destroy his restored empire. The greatest weakness in the book is its exclusion of the study of the institutions with which Justinian had to work. The difficulties of the Italian campaign, as recent scholars have shown, cannot be understood without a consideration of Justinian's armies themselves. Similarly, can financial and domestic policy be explained without a more thorough analysis of the economic and social structure of the time? In spite of these limitations, this is a fine narrative. It would make a good introduction to the study of Justinian's reign. The many illustrations from sixth-century art are a real addition to the work.

DOROTHY DE F. ABRAHAMSE
California State College, Long Beach

MODERN EUROPE

FRANK D. PRAGER and GUSTINA SCAGLIA. *Brunelleschi: Studies of His Technology and Inventions.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 152. $10.00.

PAOLO ROSSI. *Philosophy, Technology, and the Arts in the Early Modern Era.* Translated by SALVATOR ATTANASIO. Edited by BENJAMIN NELSON. (Torchbook Library Edition.) New York: Harper and Row. 1970. Pp. xii, 194. Cloth $6.00, paper $2.95.

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The two books under consideration have as their common theme the role of technology in early modern Europe. Aside from this similarity of theme they are quite different in focus and content. Prager and Scaglia write about Filippo Brunelleschi, a Florentine who contributed to the development of technology in the *quattrocento* through his machines and his triumphs in structural engineering achieved in the Duomo. Rossi's book, translated into English by Salvatore Attanasio, approaches the question of the changing relationship between science as contemplation and science as action in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He concludes that men who combined thought and action, from Bernard Palissy to Galileo Galilei, helped to elevate the workshop to an important and dignified position in scientific advancement.

The first book contains some useful and illuminating material on the quarrel between the Gothic architects and the classical artists in Florence concerning the style of the cathedral, which was moving ponderously toward completion in the late *trecento*. There is also a chapter on Brunelleschi as patentee and contractor that discloses an early attempt to protect an invention for personal profit. One wishes that these carefully researched and well-written insights had been presented in the context of a more objective evaluation of the subject. Brunelleschi's position in Renaissance art and technology is probably secure enough without gratuitous assertions claiming him to be "one of the great developers of Gothic building, the principal founder of the Renaissance, and an important forerunner of modern structural design and analysis." The authors, at their best in relating Brunelleschi's technical contributions, are less convincing when they move into analysis of the merits and authenticity of their subject's achievements.

Rossi's book is a thoughtful appraisal of one aspect of the quarrel of the ancients and moderns that exercised so many minds in early modern times. He is successful in suggesting that sixteenth-century figures such as Robert Norman, Luis Vives, Rabelais, and Vesalius brought observation and practical knowledge to an elevation that allowed for a fruitful conjunction of the theoretical and empirical in the advancement of science. The author also does creditable work in a chapter on the seventeenth century in which he suggests that the battle had by then been won by the spiritual descendants of the great sixteenth-century intellectual warriors.

In a chapter devoted to "The Idea of Scientific Progress" Rossi makes a significant contribution when he asserts that theories of science acquired the concepts of accumulation of knowledge and collaboration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He is not entirely successful, however, in his attempt to establish a logical connection between these two ideas and the notion of the inevitability of progress. The author should not be blamed for the fact that a generally adequate translation falters at certain points in this chapter and in a related appendix. Thus passages that seemed to be insightful in the 1962 Italian edition appear confusing and even misleading in the English version. This is particularly true where Rossi is dealing with ideas that cannot properly be rendered as "progress," "pragmatism," or "utility."

Both of these books make a contribution to knowledge—the one because it elaborates the inventiveness of a Renaissance artist, the other because it reminds us again that reflection without observation and action is sterile.

LARRY D. HYBERTSON
Pasadena College

NICOLE PEREMANS. *Érasme et Bucer d'après leur correspondance.* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Number 194.) Paris: Société d'Éditions "Les Belles Lettres." 1970. Pp. 162.

There has been, as Nicole Peremans observes, a need for study of the relations between Erasmus and the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer. As often happens in such cases, her study of Erasmus's conflicts with Bucer and the Strasbourg Protestants appeared in the same year as Friedhelm Kruger's *Bucer and Erasmus* (1970), a study of Erasmus's influence on Bucer's intellectual development. Peremans's conclusions are sound if not novel; readers will not be surprised to find that the old Erasmus was irritable and that personal grievances obtruded in his controversial writings. On points of detail she has fresh observations. That Bucer was the author of the *Epistola Apologetica* (1530), a reply to Erasmus's *Epistola contra*

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Pseudoevangelicos (1529), has long been suspected but can now be affirmed with some confidence. She notes, as no one else has, that Bucer virtually admits that the reformer Konrad Pellican had sought to have pressure exerted on Erasmus by the city council of Basel. This circumstance might shed new light on Erasmus's important letter to that body during the Eucharistic controversy. But the principal defect of Peremans's work is that she does not pause for analysis of the issues raised in her narration. One wonders, for example, whether Bucer was correct in maintaining that Erasmus had at one time argued against the death penalty for heresy. Elsewhere Bucer replies to Erasmus's charge that Protestants quoted his writings out of context: did not St. Paul quote an inscription out of context for his sermon on the Areopagus? The interesting thing about this passage, which Peremans fails to observe, is that Erasmus himself frequently used the same argument to justify "dissimulation" for a good purpose. What Bucer learned from Erasmus is perhaps a more fruitful topic than their manifest disagreement.

JAMES D. TRACY
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

KARL JOSEF SEIDEL. *Frankreich und die deutschen Protestanten: Die Bemühungen um eine religiöse Konkordie und die französische Bündnispolitik in den Jahren 1534/35.* (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Number 102.) Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1970. Pp. 191. DM 34.

Karl Josef Seidel has produced a valuable study of relations between German Protestants and France in 1534–35. The specific focus is announced in the subtitle, *Die Bemühungen um eine religiöse Konkordie und die französische Bündnispolitik in den Jahren 1534/35.*

The stage is set by a description of France's international position between 1529 and 1534 and the growing receptivity to the possibility of improved relations with the German Protestant states. If a colloquy could lead to some *modus vivendi* on the religious question, political and military alliance against the emperor seemed at least a possibility. Various position papers were exchanged, most important of which was Melanchthon's *Consilium ad Gallos,* moderate in tone and optimistic in its hopes for an irenic agreement on essentials.

In letters and memoranda from Melanchthon, Bucer, Bullinger, Hedios, Chelius, Myconius, Zwick, Blarer, Luther, and the Du Bellay brothers we discover not only different opinions but also the importance of differing emphases, of how a statement is understood and summarized, and of the havoc created by distortion. Taking full advantage of the printed sources, Seidel has provided an instructive account of a complex interchange of ideas during a brief period of "thaw."

Repeatedly he illustrates the interplay between the discussion of theological questions and the surrounding political realities. The "affaire des placards" in 1534 had regrettable effects on the mind of Francis I. And John Frederick of Saxony's refusal to allow Melanchthon to go to Paris for face-to-face discussions well-nigh destroyed all possibility of successful negotiations.

Earlier treatments of the story tended to treat the matter very briefly or to discuss only one aspect of it. What Seidel has now done is to re-examine the topic, pull the relevant material together, and set the whole complex series of exchanges within the necessary political and diplomatic context. In many respects it is a model study—manageable yet significant. It will be of interest not only to modern ecumenists but also to anyone wishing to understand the international currents and crosscurrents of the Reformation.

DAVIS BITTON
University of Utah

JACOB KATZ. *Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723–1939.* Translated from the Hebrew by LEONARD OSCHRY. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 293. $11.00.

Jacob Katz's study of Freemasons and European Jews is important in its own right. It is important as well, however, for the knowledge it brings to our understanding of the development of religious toleration, anti-Semitism, and Western European assimilation of Jews, who enjoyed formal equality in the eyes of the law after the French Revolution.

Almost from their start in England in the early eighteenth century, the Freemasons incorporated elements of natural religion and reli-

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gious toleration into their constitution. Influenced by deism they held that "a Mason is obliged [only] to obey the moral Law . . . , that religion in which all Men agree" (quoted in Katz, p. 14). In 1736, however, only four years after the first Jew was initiated into the London lodge, the Freemasons qualified their mandate of universal religion. Members, they now maintained, must henceforth conform to "the Christian usages of each Country." For all that—or possibly because of that—Masonic lodges spread to the Continent, first to Holland, then to France.

To participate in Christian lodges Jews often had to compromise their religious traditions. Nonetheless, the number of Jewish members increased, Katz suggests, because membership in the lodges brought tangible advantages and because many Jews felt that they should emulate their Christian neighbors. "Wie es Christelt sich, asoy yidelt sich," they argued. ("As things go among the Christians, so they also must go among the Jews.") It should be noted, however, that some Jews sought to retain their own religious principles within the framework of the lodges. (They were least successful in England, ironically enough, where religious toleration for Masons was first affirmed.) Others, unable to reconcile participation in Christian lodges, formed lodges of their own. In any case the increase of Jewish members suggests that in Western Europe barriers between Jews and Christians were softening before 1789.

But only up to a point. The readiness to accept Jews into Western European society was not universal. Even Freemasons imposed restrictions upon Jews and, at times, were hostile to them—especially in Germany, where Jews were systematically excluded, perhaps because of *völkisch* ideas. In general, as legal barriers to assimilation broke down, social barriers hardened.

In an important way, then, *Jews and Freemasons* suggests the limitations of assimilation in Germany and France, that is, it suggests the persistence of anti-Semitism. Paradoxically the myth that Jews and Freemasons were plotting to control the world continued to persist, especially in the incredible *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Freemasons and Jews, I have already suggested, is an important study. It suffers, however, from an apparent lack of understanding of the relations between Jews and Freemasons in nineteenth-century France. For it is here, as Norman Cohn reminds us, that the myth of Jewish conspiracy gained credibility and was first popularized.

LEON APT
Iowa State University

FEDERICO CURATO, editor. *Gran Bretagna e Italia nei documenti della missione Minto.* Second Series: *1830–1848.* Volume 1 *(21 agosto 1847–4 febbraio 1848);* Volume 2 *(5 febbraio–12 maggio 1848).* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi potenze europee e gli Stati italiani, 1814–1860. Part 3, Rapporti tra Stati europei.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1970. Pp. xvii, 374; 336. L. 5,500 each.

These two volumes, well edited by Federico Curato, have the unique distinction of covering the diplomatic roving mission of one man and of giving the historian a detailed description of persons and situations throughout Italy on the eve of its revolutions of 1848 and 1849. The man with the mission was Gilbert Elliot, second earl of Minto, Lord Privy Seal in the Russell cabinet. In 1847 and early 1848 he was sent to Switzerland, Austria, and then through the entire length of Italy down to Palermo in Sicily and was instructed to send back his observations on the Italian political scene. He was likewise to discourage an impending Swiss civil war, an Austrian intervention in Italy, and the achievement of Italian unity. On the positive side he was to encourage in Italy moderate monarchical parliamentary reforms and civil liberties, obtain the pope's help in quieting the Irish clergy, and mediate a conflict between Sicily and Naples. His observations were of inestimable value to his government and are now to historians of 1848; but nearly all the other purposes of his mission failed by the end of the year. Count de Bresson had had a similar French mission throughout all Italy, and he committed suicide in Naples. Minto, however, was made of sterner stuff and returned home a sadder but a wiser man.

This two-volume collection contains 365 pieces of official and private correspondence, in the English original text, to and from Lord Minto and ninety pages of his diary, which

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links together the events in the correspondence. There are letters to and/or from Victoria, Prince Albert, Russell, Palmerston, Charles Albert, and other British diplomats in Italy. The selection was made from the Minto papers and diary in the National Library of Scotland, from the official Foreign Office dispatches and the Russell private papers in the Public Record Office, from the Palmerston incoming letters in the National Register of Archives, and from the Royal Archives in Windsor. However, the Palmerston outgoing letter copies, in his letterbooks in the British Museum, were not used. An indication of Professor Curato's careful preparation is the very small number of typographical errors in the English texts. As usual, there are excellent inventories and summaries at the beginning, helpful explanatory footnotes throughout, and an identifying index of persons at the end.

LYNN M. CASE
University of Pennsylvania

KARL KAUTSKY, JR. *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky.* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, New Series, Number 2.) Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V. 1971. Pp. lx, 394. 60.50 gls.

ROSA LUXEMBURG. *Lettres à Karl et Luise Kautsky.* Translated from the German by NADINE STCHOUPAK and A. M. BRACKE-DESROUSSEAUX. Preceded by *L'œuvre et la vie de Rosa Luxemburg,* by DOMINIQUE DESANTI. ("Collection Hier.") Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. lxiii, 145. 24 fr.

The correspondence between German Social Democracy's leading political practitioner, August Bebel, and its most prolific Marxist theoretician, Karl Kautsky, covering the exciting and decisive period from 1879 to 1913, could hardly fail to be an intriguing and valuable source for the history of European socialism. How Bebel acted and what Kautsky wrote in those years often proved to be of crucial significance. Their published correspondence, of which more than eighty per cent comes from the years following the death of Friedrich Engels in 1895, complements chronologically the prior publication in individual volumes of the intense exchange of letters between Engels and the inner group of German Social Democrats—Bebel, Kautsky, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and Eduard Bernstein. Unfortunately, while Kautsky faithfully preserved nearly every piece of paper he received from Bebel, the latter was apparently much less careful, and so of the 306 items included in this volume only 26 come from the pen of Karl Kautsky, to which have been added a few written by his wife Luise. As a result of the imbalance many nuances of the relationship between the skillful political tactician and the earnest editor of the *Neue Zeit* remain partially hidden. But we can discover many details about Bebel—his adept guidance of the campaign against Bernstein's revisionism, the care he took in setting the stage for the party congresses, the frequency and the nature of his advice on the policies of the *Neue Zeit,* and his frank and sometimes piercing evaluations of fellow socialists. (How deeply he and Kautsky distrusted the brilliant and irascible Franz Mehring is documented in some piquant phrases.) The letters of the last years turn to personal matters as Bebel faced tragedy in his own family—the death of his wife in 1910 and then the severe and prolonged nervous collapse of his daughter following the unexpected death of her husband early in 1912. "I had imagined that the end would be different," Bebel confided sadly to his Marxist comrade in October 1912, though subsequent letters show that he soon regained the optimistic spirit so characteristic of his active life.

The edition itself meets the high standards set by the previous source publications of the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. Although not an academic scholar, Karl Kautsky, Jr. has an intimate knowledge of the Social Democratic movement, and he has compensated to some degree for the missing letters of Karl Kautsky through informative notes and the use of direct quotations from other sources. In a few instances, noticeably in the introduction, Kautsky's solicitude for his father's reputation is evident but not to the detriment of accuracy or balance. For other reasons, however, the introduction is disappointing. The editor has chosen to remain close to the texts published in the volume and passes over an excellent opportunity to present a comparative analysis of Bebel and Kautsky.

The volume of Rosa Luxemburg's *Lettres à*

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Karl et Luise Kautsky is a French translation from the original German edition of 1923. Except for the competent introductory essay on Luxemburg's life and work by Dominique Desanti, the publication adds little of scholarly value to the original edition, an English translation of which also appeared in 1923. Although some new annotations have been included, others from the original have been omitted, and neither a complete list of the letters nor an index has been supplied.

VERNON L. LIDTKE
Johns Hopkins University

GÉRARD CHOLVY. *Géographie religieuse de l'Hérault contemporain.* Preface by GABRIEL LE BRAS. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université de Montpellier, Number 32.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1968. Pp. 513. 39 fr.

It would be hard to disagree with Gabriel Le Bras, the founder of "sociologie religieuse," that of all the works in the genre Cholvy's is one of the finest. Using hard quantitative data he maps out the contemporary patterns of religious practice in the department of Hérault and then places them convincingly in their changing environment—geographic, demographic, economic, social, political, and ecclesiastical. While concerned primarily with the twentieth century he also ranges over the nineteenth century and even into the *ancien régime*, thereby giving the book an unusually deep historical perspective.

The department of Hérault, comprising Mediterranean coastal plains and upland fragments of the Massif Central, belongs mostly to the "pays indifférents à traditions chrétiennes" on Boulard's map (though not to the "pays de mission"). The centerpiece of the book is an analysis of church attendance based on data from over 100,000 questionnaires returned by those attending Catholic churches on Sunday, December 2, 1962. They amounted to only a quarter of the eligible Catholic population, but the proportion varied according to age, sex, marital status, occupation, education, milieu (rural or urban), and region. Many of these findings are not surprising but are valuable for their precision and comprehensiveness. Other data—from baptisms, ordinations, communicants, voting patterns—enrich and qualify the picture. In explaining the generally low level of religious practice Cholvy underlines economic and social factors in this largely rural area, minimizing the adverse effects of the anticlerical press, state schools, and Protestantism; he also blames a reactionary, slow-moving ecclesiastical establishment. In his discussion of regional patterns he is especially instructive on the western coastal plains, relating religious practice to the evolution of large-scale capitalist viticulture, its class conflicts and successive waves of immigrants (including many from Spain). But with the advance of urbanization in recent years, regional influences on religious practice appear to be yielding to national ones, while religion itself withdraws from the public to the private sphere.

Altogether this is one of the most impressive studies of a modern French diocese. Its limitations, which Cholvy acknowledges but does not overcome, are chiefly those of the genre. His book therefore suffers from a certain lack of inwardness, a neglect of the psychological and nonquantifiable dimensions of religion, including superstition and other phenomena of popular devotion. Both the merits and the limitations of the book reflect the present state of the social history of religion as it advances from the sociographic stage to the truly sociological and psychological.

JAMES OBELKEVICH
Princeton University

DAVID MITCHELL. *1919: Red Mirage.* [New York:] Macmillan Company. 1970. Pp. 385. $7.50.

This volume demonstrates both the strengths and weaknesses of popular history. It is superbly written, successfully capturing the hysteria and emotions of a highly emotional time. As Mr. Mitchell quite aptly demonstrates, the panorama of rebellion and counterrebellion that spread across Europe in 1919 literally boggles the imagination. The task in describing this panorama, in relating events across Europe—and briefly in the United States and Canada—is awesome, and the author is indeed to be complimented on his ability to organize the incredible diversity of activity into an intelligible account. The extensive bibliography is

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annotated with insight and clarity, often giving as much of a clue to the author's interpretations as does the text itself. The illustrations are quite well chosen and serve to illuminate further the passions of revolutionary activity.

Then what is wrong? For one thing Mr. Mitchell's publisher has apparently served him badly. The total omission of documentation in a work full of personal judgments, quotations, and many debatable conclusions is unacceptable. Perhaps it is the publisher rather than the author who is also to blame for such cliché-ridden chapter titles as "Don't Count your Soviets." More seriously, Mr. Mitchell's research is almost entirely limited to English-language sources. While his work in this language has been reasonably exhaustive, especially as regards memoirs, he has nevertheless accepted a limitation that forces him to deal with the tip of the iceberg rather than the entire movement. Thus in dealing with the founding of the Communist party of Germany, for example, he must draw his conclusions on excerpts from English-language works, and these are not necessarily the conclusions that might be drawn had he access to all of the extant materials. The same holds for the founding of the Comintern and other critical events of 1919.

This is, in a sum, an extraordinarily well-written and intelligently presented book. It is, however, by no means definitive history.

WARREN LERNER
Duke University

JAMES BARROS. *The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgarian Incident, 1925*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. 143. $6.50.

This work by Mr. Barros on the Greek-Bulgarian incident of 1925 is based mainly on research in British, Greek, Italian, American, and League of Nations archives. Most of the book deals with a description of the day-by-day development of the crisis and its solution. The concluding chapter discusses not only why the intervention of the League was "successful" in this case, but it also generally and rather quickly considers how the 1925 incident shows the limitations of using international organizations like the League and the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Mr. Barros is at his very best when he blends together materials from the various archives to indicate how the powers, particularly Britain and France, became involved in settling the crisis. His treatment of the roles of the Greek and Bulgarian governments is a little less successful, primarily because he really fails to give enough background information on the internal issues that were helping determine the foreign policies of the two countries. Thus, while we are told that Greece under the rule of the dictator Pangalos may have needed some outside diversion to turn attention away from internal matters, we never fully understand why Pangalos persisted so long in following a course that obviously alienated foreign statesmen who could have been friendly to Greece. Nor are we adequately informed about Bulgaria. We learn correctly that the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) had great power over the Bulgarian government; but, we do not find out sufficiently how IMRO may have helped influence Bulgaria's foreign policy. There is one particularly intriguing question raised about Bulgarian reaction to the clash with Greece. Mr. Barros mentions that in October 1925, as the crisis was in its very first stages, the Bulgarian government proposed that Yugoslavia join in "an immediate military alliance, with a view to combined action against the Greeks, the joint spoils to be the port cities of Salonika, Kavala, and Alexandroupolis" (p. 17). The reader may well ask how the Bulgarian leaders, whose country was heavily demilitarized by terms of the Treaty of Neuilly, could feel able to make any offer with a view toward wresting from Greece three of its most important northern centers.

The above observations are not meant to detract from the general usefulness of this study; they are indications of areas that still need elucidation. Mr. Barros has in the main presented a very competent account of an event in history that heretofore had not received enough attention from scholars.

GEORGE J. MARCOPOULOS
Tufts University

RICHARD GLEN EAVES. *Henry VIII's Scottish Diplomacy, 1513–1524: England's Relations with the Regency Government of James V.* (Exposition-University Book.) New York: Exposition Press. 1971. Pp. 197. $6.50.

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In spite of its title the focus of this book is on Scotland and its international relationships during the period when John Stuart, duke of Albany, a Frenchman in all but descent, was regent for the young James V. Dr. Eaves is especially interested in describing "the complicated diplomacy by which Scotland preserved her independence," and he has presented his gleanings from the available printed sources with great thoroughness. This is undoubtedly the definitive account of the subject, yet it is flawed by several of the deficiencies frequently attending dissertations. While the style is straightforward, it is nevertheless dull, often repetitious, heavily footnoted, and very detailed, and it contains a minimum of interpretation. One wishes for more elucidation of the basic motives and goals, as opposed to the moves, of the principals; one looks in vain for some discussion of Scotland's real position in international affairs or an evaluation of the extent to which the Scots themselves actually controlled their situation. Perhaps the most fundamental unexamined issue is whether Scotland's continuing independence at this time was the result of Scottish (or French) diplomacy at all. Was Henry VIII ever prepared to pay the price in men, money, and attention necessary for a successful "annexation" of Scotland? It seems to be at least an open question. One can agree that the documents tell "an ugly story of English aggression and meddling in Scotland's domestic affairs," but was the French record substantially better? Dr. Eaves's findings do not significantly alter the picture of the period given in such standard general accounts as Gordon Donaldson's *Scotland: James V to James VII* (1965).

J. WILSON FERGUSON
Russell Sage College

ROY STRONG. *Tudor & Jacobean Portraits.* Volume 1, *Text;* Volume 2, *Plates.* (National Portrait Gallery.) London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by Pendragon House, Redwood City, Calif. 1969. Pp. xiv, 390; 693 plates. $48.00 the set, postpaid.

KATHERINE S. VAN EERDE. *Wenceslaus Hollar: Delineator of His Time.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1970. Pp. ix, 122. $15.00.

Both of these works should encourage historians of Tudor and Stuart England to use art and the evidence associated with it in their research and lectures. Unlike treatises on attribution and other technical problems and unlike many of the tributes to great country houses and their contents, these books help make the artistic evidence of these reigns accessible and pertinent to general history.

Tudor & Jacobean Portraits catalogs all the portraits in the National Portrait Gallery down to 1625, where Piper's catalog of 1963 takes up (the Gallery's portraits of pre-Tudor subjects are included; for example, a silver penny ca. 887 depicting Ælfred). Designing the work "primarily as a working tool for students of the period regardless of the field in which they are active," Strong has made it "an index of faces," with the portraits arranged alphabetically by names of the sitters. Strong refers those concerned with developments in painting during the period to his own work, *This Time's Pencil* (apparently this is a projected but abandoned title for his *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture* [London, 1969]).

Volume 1, the text, contains more than the usual data about the portraits in the Gallery. Biographies of the sitters are reprinted from the *Concise Dictionary of National Biography;* up-to-date biographies might have been worth the extensive space these reprints take. Contemporary descriptions of the appearance of the sitters are given, too. Strong also discusses the portraits in relation to the total iconography of the sitter, and he considers not only the portraits in the Gallery but those elsewhere. A section on groups appears after the last main entry and then two appendixes on recent acquisitions. All of this data (with the bibliography), arranged by sitter, make this volume, in conjunction with volume 2, the excellent "working tool" that Strong planned.

Volume 2 contains black-and-white plates, at least one for each of the Gallery's portraits entered in volume 1, and also reproductions of the principal portraits in other collections discussed in the iconography paragraphs mentioned above. There are, in addition, eight attractive plates in color, seven of them in volume 1 and one as frontispiece to volume 2; not referred to in the text, they duplicate the black-and-white reproductions. Although this "index" shows primarily faces, the background

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often depicts much else of importance in Tudor and Stuart history.

Hollar (1607–77), a Bohemian topographical etcher and draftsman, traveled extensively on the Continent, joined the suite of the earl of Arundel, the great collector, in 1636, and thereafter lived most of his life in England. Working for noblemen and gentlemen, the royal family, and publishers, Hollar produced a wide range of attractive work, much of it still surviving. Those wanting information about buildings, landscapes, important men, costume of persons of high and low degree, ships, and famous events are likely to find at least part of what they want in Hollar. Van Eerde, weaving together "the scanty facts concerning the artist and the information given us by his works," has not notably advanced our knowledge of him, but she has produced an attractive guide to his works. By placing reproductions alongside her narrative of his life and of the great events of his time, she makes evident to teachers and students the resources that Hollar brings to us for study of seventeenth-century England and the Continent and especially how such an artist was patronized. Except for the inconvenient placing of the notes at the end of each chapter, the book is very handsomely produced.

Historians of Tudor and Stuart England can get great pleasure and much help in their teaching, perhaps also in their research, from these volumes.

WALTER L. WOODFILL
University of California, Davis

DAVID UNDERDOWN. *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 424. $15.25.

This study of Pride's Purge contains an original interpretation of the manner in which that historic episode took place and its meaning in relationship to the Puritan revolution as a whole. Underdown has sought to demonstrate that it was less a deliberate act of policy on the part of Puritan idealists than the result of a shift in party alignment in the Long Parliament that permitted the radicalism in the New Model Army, the Levellers, and the sects to find vent in December 1648 and January 1649. Working from J. H. Hexter's and Valerie Pearl's findings he insists that there existed in parliament after 1645 a middle group whose members cooperated with a small number of radicals to form the Independent party. The role of the middle group was pivotal. Its decision to go with the Presbyterians at the time of the Treaty of Newport broke up the Independent party, and with its collapse went the last hope of parliamentary control of the New Model Army. The sequel was revolution in the form of Pride's Purge and the death of Charles I.

If the purge is to be explained in these terms it is no surprise that the Rump government that followed is described as lacking the revolutionary impetus to carry out a thoroughgoing revolution. An essentially conservative body, so Underdown believes, its members had little interest in further change after the King's death and the destruction of the House of Lords. In four main areas of policy—religion, law, social reform, and parliamentary reform—little was accomplished unless the army applied pressure. In these years Cromwell was thinking in terms reminiscent of the middle group in the Long Parliament that foreshadowed the main lines of the Protectorate. "In the end," Underdown concludes, "the typical Rumper was not the determined Commonwealthsman, not Edmund Ludlow or Henry Ireton. It was not even Oliver Cromwell. It was Bulstrode Whitelocke."

This estimate of Pride's Purge is likely to dominate historical scholarship during the foreseeable future. But some questions are bound to arise about Underdown's treatment of political ideology, which in turn has influenced his description of the political complexion of the Long Parliament. It has shaped in key places the tone of his commentary. What he has failed to do is to consider the importance of the theory of mixed monarchy, which was prevalent in the late years of the Puritan revolution. It had grown out of Charles I's highly influential answer to the Nineteen Propositions, and among its advocates were Nathaniel Fiennes, William Prynne, and Whitelocke—all of them conspicuous in Underdown's account. Since the theory subverted the idea of kingship that prevailed before the Puritan revolution, it is difficult to view its advocates as conservative in the way that Underdown does. This is not to deny that Leveller doctrine was

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more radical if a greater degree of democracy is the test but rather to insist that the advocates of mixed monarchy were themselves the product of a far-reaching ideological revolution actually more dangerous to the Stuart kingship than Leveller teachings. It had penetrated the establishment in a fashion simply not true of Leveller ideology. The failure to recognize that this was the case lessens the value of this important book.

CORINNE COMSTOCK WESTON
Herbert H. Lehman College, City University of New York

SHEILA LAMBERT. *Bills and Acts: Legislative Procedure in Eighteenth-Century England.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. ix, 246. $13.00.

Historians of eighteenth-century England have good reason to be grateful to Miss Sheila Lambert. Several years ago she compiled a valuable list of House of Commons sessional papers for the first half of the century. And in this book, which complements the recent fine study of the House of Commons by P. D. G. Thomas, she provides further expert help with another tangled problem: how legislation was prepared and passed in the eighteenth-century parliament. The book springs from and centers on the work of Robert Harper, an attorney who for thirty years after 1732 was a leading draftsman of and agent for private legislation. Miss Lambert has discovered (the kind of discovery that only comes with long familiarity with the source material) that his working papers formed the basis of the British Museum's collection of private bills before 1767; her further discovery of Harper's own manuscript indexes to these papers in Lincoln's Inn makes the Museum's collection much more accessible than hitherto. Miss Lambert uses Harper's career as a springboard from which to discuss changes in parliamentary procedure over the course of the century, the role of private draftsmen and agents in getting legislation through parliament, and the work of the clerks of the House of Commons and of government departments like the Treasury. Though Robert Harper specialized in estate bills—the unsettling of settled estates—Miss Lambert ranges far outside this area and describes the procedures involved in the preparation and passage of other legislation, including enclosure and local bills of all kinds. Her careful discussion of the stages of procedure, the changes in the printing of legislation over the century, the dangers of using printed bills as though they invariably represent the legislation as passed, and many other cognate matters will be of the very greatest benefit—not least to those whom the book encourages to exploit the vast amount of social and economic material in parliamentary sources.

J. M. BEATTIE
University of Toronto

J. P. P. HIGGINS and SIDNEY POLLARD, editors, with the assistance of J. E. GINARLIS. *Aspects of Capital Investment in Great Britain, 1750–1850: A Preliminary Survey.* (Report of a conference held at the University of Sheffield, 5–7 January 1969.) London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1971. Pp. 200. $9.50.

With support from the Social Science Research Council, Professor Pollard has recruited a team of assistants to sift through public accounts and business records relating to every sector of the economy in order to measure capital formation in Britain during the Industrial Revolution. To achieve "better co-ordination among all the participants" and to ensure by "consensus rather than by fiat" that the results of the separate studies can ultimately be combined into a single series, a conference of work in progress was held at the University of Sheffield in January 1969. The six papers presented on that occasion together with edited summaries of the discussions form the contents of this volume.

In their introduction the editors conservatively assess the benefits derived from such workshop sessions as a form of quality control. The first two contributors discuss appropriate theoretical guidelines for the project; Mr. J. Hibbert reviews modern national accounting practices, and Dr. C. H. Feinstein describes his recently published estimates of gross capital formation for the period 1856–1913, to which Pollard's series will be related. The remaining papers contain accounts of research actually done or planned for different sectors of the economy. Most of Dr. S. D. Chapman's paper on investment in the cotton industry has already appeared in the *Economic History Re-*

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view ("Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770–1815," 23 [1970]: 235–66). Using insurance company records and the concept of the representative firm he concludes that "the cost of fixed capital investment in the initial period of 'take-off' in cotton was very modest." Because their research is less advanced the contributions of Mr. J. E. Ginarlis on roads and canals, Mr. Robert Craig on shipping, and Dr. B. A. Holderness on agriculture center on the pitfalls of interpreting sources, the scarcity of evidence, and the consequent problems of constructing long-run time series. Most of the discussion concentrates on the difficulties of sampling, using proxy figures, allowing for obsolescence, constructing index numbers, and defining capital assets. And since the estimates of the dominant agricultural sector are expected to be "among the weakest and most doubtful series in the project," additional complications are bound to occur at a later stage in moving to larger aggregates. Yet despite such obstacles and notwithstanding the fact that housing and industries other than cotton receive only passing mention, these progress reports offer grounds for cautious optimism about the outcome, providing the team can agree on accounting categories and procedures appropriate to the evidence.

GORDON RIMMER
University of New South Wales

W. S. LEWIS *et al.*, editors. *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann and Sir Horace Mann the Younger.* Volumes 9–11. (The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Volumes 25–27.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1971. Pp. 685; lxii, 546; 547–1113. $17.50 each.

With these three volumes the Yale edition of the correspondence between Horace Walpole and Sir Horace Mann is now complete. For good measure there are a few letters to Walpole from Mann's nephew, several appendixes, and finally the index to all their letters and the appendixes.

The availability of both sides of a correspondence, always desirable, is especially advantageous in this case, for the two principal correspondents were, geographically and in their immediate concerns, far removed from each other. Until his death in 1786 Mann remained as diplomatic representative at the court of the grand duke of Tuscany. His view encompassed the affairs of Europe. Walpole observed the world from London or Strawberry Hill. Yet their mutual understanding and sympathy and their interest in each other's letters never failed.

The subjects of the later correspondence are essentially the same as earlier: politics, diplomacy, culture, friends, and society in the narrow sense. But times had changed. New topics absorbed the correspondents' attention. These were the closing years of the American war and the conflicts stemming from it. There was unrest at home and in other parts of the Empire. Walpole had long since abandoned his seat in Parliament and he went about less often, but his home in Berkeley Square was, in his words, "a little coffee-house" where his visitors brought the latest news, which he relayed to his friend in Florence (9:371).

With the war came additional responsibilities for Mann. Both correspondents longed for peace. Walpole frankly deplored the policies that had plunged England into war and ever heavier debt. He often recalled his father's motto, *Quieta non movere.* He distrusted the influence of the Crown and in 1782 hoped that changes in the administration would result in "the recovery of the constitution" (9:262). He saw no need for electoral or civil service reform.

The style of the correspondence changed somewhat. Both men grew philosophical. Walpole's letters are marked by an even greater wealth of anecdotes, historical and literary allusions, and a charming ability to poke fun at himself as well as others. Whom is he mocking when he writes: "At first I thought myself grown deaf when with young people, but perceived that I understood my contemporaries though they whispered" (9: 22)?

This edition permits posterity, whom Walpole never forgot, to appreciate more fully the historical value of the letters and to savor their unique flavor. Anyone interested in the eighteenth century must be grateful to Mr. W. S. Lewis and his associates who, as these three volumes with their wealth of notes and detailed index testify, have maintained unflaggingly the highest editorial standards.

DORA MAE CLARK
Wilson College

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RICHARD W. DAVIS. *Dissent in Politics, 1780–1830: The Political Life of William Smith, MP.* London: Epworth Press. 1971. Pp. xv, 268. £5.00.

William Smith (1736–1835) was member of Parliament, with some intervals, between 1784 and 1830 for Sudbury, Camelford, and Norwich; and from 1805 to 1832 he was chairman of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies. A wholesale grocer in the City of London, he lived in the days of his prosperity as an opulent gentleman, given to good causes. He was a friend and for a time a neighbor of the Clapham sect and worked with them against the slave trade and slavery. His education had been under Dissenting auspices, but he had sons at Cambridge. He became a theological liberal and joined the fashionable congregation started by Theophilus Lindsey in Essex Street. Dr. Davis says that he had the "catholicity of eighteenth-century dissent," rather than the sect spirit of nineteenth-century Nonconformity. From being a follower of Pitt, he became a disciple of Fox, as Dr. Davis shows, not because of difference about religious tests for public office but because of the French Revolution and the war. Like Fox, Smith was one of the friends of the people, not one of the people. His view of instructions by constituents to members of Parliament was anything but radical. Dr. Davis says that his attitude to the electors of Norwich was like that of a headmaster to unruly schoolboys. Smith, moveover, always preferred behind-the-scenes negotiation and management in the House to outside demagoguery and piecemeal progress—by accepting half-loaves—to losing one great campaign for a whole loaf unlikely of attainment. In this again Smith was at variance with some of his coreligionists. In the nineteenth century Aspland and Southwood Smith disliked Smith's eighteenth-century Whiggism. Smith entered into prominence in the agitations of the 1780s for the repeal of the test and corporation acts, and as chairman of the Dissenting Deputies had an important part in the repeal of 1828. Dr. Davis also gives interesting accounts of Smith's part in the opposition to Sidmouth's bill of 1811, in the repeal of the five mile and conventicle acts in 1812, and in the Unitarians' toleration act of 1813.

The Epworth Press is to be praised for putting the footnotes at the foot of each page and for permitting an ordered and useful bibliography, easy to use. The index could be better. Dr. Davis would have found some useful material in the William Smith Papers in the Spencer Research Library of the University of Kansas.

This book, well produced, well documented, and readably written, supplements most usefully, and occasionally corrects, the work already done in this field by Barlow, Machin, Manning, and others.

R. W. GREAVES
University of Kansas

A. S. WOHL *et al. The History of Working-Class Housing: A Symposium.* Edited by STANLEY D. CHAPMAN. [Totowa, N. J.:] Rowman and Littlefield. 1971. Pp. 307. $16.50.

This is a difficult book to review. It is in no sense a history of working-class housing in Great Britain. Rather it is a collection of essays of varying length, coverage, and focus, dealing with some aspects of working-class housing in London, Glasgow, Leeds, Nottingham, Liverpool, Birmingham, southeast Lancashire, and Ebbw Vale. These essays reflect the authors' interests and research pursuits, and with the exception of perhaps the last, on Ebbw Vale, they are of uniformly high quality; but, put together, they do not represent a balanced description of housing in Britain at any period, much less a history. In reality they are a collection of journal articles.

Certainly it is unfair to criticize a scholarly work for not being something else, but one could wish to have found rather more vigorous editorial supervision of this book. A reader, hoping to find an answer to some question of his own, may be disappointed. Even within the general topic of housing the choice of subjects is haphazard: some deal with the economic circumstances of housebuilding, some deal with working-class architecture, and one, Anthony Wohl's, traces the history of the growing public interest in lower-class living accommodations in London.

As a piece of historical scholarship, Wohl's article on the housing of the working classes in London between 1815 and 1914 has perhaps the greatest general interest. Although he deals almost exclusively with the last half of this period and is expanding upon his previous work concerning the impact of Andrew Mearn's pamphlet of 1883, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast*

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London, he shows, with careful statistical detail, the exploding public interest in the domestic conditions of the laboring classes and makes clear again that, despite repeated expressions of concern and interest from politicians, government activity in the field before the First World War in fact amounted to nothing.

The other articles, although useful, are of such narrow scope that one would have expected to find them in county historical journals. The economics of lodginghouse keeping in Glasgow or the origins of back-to-back housebuilding in Leeds—deriving not from the search for economy but from the configuration of fields and footpaths—are of important but parochial interest. Perhaps the most unfortunate result of this excessive concentration, besides the breakdown in parallel coverage in the essays, is the practical absence of any reference to the more general national movements concerned with working-class housing. Octavia Hill is scarcely mentioned, nor are the Health of Towns Commission, the General Board of Health, the Medical Officers of Health, or the establishment of the Local Government Board. The entire topic of the growing interest in sanitary legislation, which affected housing more than any other field, is hardly noticed. Only Wohl, dealing with London, has much to say about urban transportation.

These remarks are criticisms only in the sense that a book of this sort, reflecting a large amount of careful work, might have become much more than it is. The impact of the Industrial Revolution on the ordinary people of England has grown in the last few years to be a major preoccupation of many historians and, within this, housing is a central topic. A medium-sized general history of nineteenth-century housing would be of great use. In such a volume the monographic work contained in the present book would be of significant value, but these studies themselves are not such a history. Indeed, they demonstrate how much remains to be done.

BENTLEY B. GILBERT
University of Illinois, Chicago

JOHN HURT. *Education in Evolution: Church, State, Society and Popular Education, 1800–1870.* London: Rupert Hart-Davis. 1971. Pp. 286. £2.50.

Historians accept the importance of general elementary education in the formation of national states but neglect its history, while those who write on the subject too often are untrained in historical research. John Hurt is a political scientist, and he has credentials in education as well, which may explain why he has produced one of the few studies of elementary education in Britain before the Forster Act of 1870 that both historians and educators will approve.

The basic assumptions are uncontroversial. The parliamentary decision to support a voluntary system of elementary education for working-class children reflected a growing belief that a minimum of schooling under religious auspices was a better assurance of social stability than ignorance. The ultimate compromise of small matching grants to church schools, including nonconformist and Roman Catholic, which accepted inspection, reflected political realities. Leaving control with local school managers while London officials pressed for improvement along uniform lines through grants that might be reduced by adverse reports of inspectors was in the Victorian administrative tradition.

The special value of this study grows out of research in little-used official papers and minutes, including the reports of inspectors and examiners. These civil servants appear as an exceptionally well-educated and hard-working group, even though appointed under the old patronage system. R. R. W. Lingen, who succeeded Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth as secretary of the Education Department, is revealed as a significant influence even though he did not appear in the public eye. The arrangements by which schoolmasters for working-class children were drawn from the working class while inspectors and examiners came from Oxford and Cambridge are considered. The effort to raise standards through training colleges and the certification of teachers is described as well as the effect of "pupil-teachers"—in effect apprentices—who provided much cheap instruction. The circumstances under which women came to outnumber men as teachers are examined. Finally, much evidence is produced to support the author's belief that it was the development of the voluntary system before 1870 that made the Forster Act workable and fas-

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tened on Britain the system of class education that lasted into the twentieth century.

FRANCIS H. HERRICK
Mills College

NICHOLAS C. EDSALL. *The Anti-Poor Law Movement, 1834–44*. Totowa, N. J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1971. Pp. viii, 285. $12.00.

Mr. Edsall has a sound grasp of the complexities of political society in the North of England in his chosen period and a shrewd eye for the realities beneath the rhetoric of political conflict. He is an able and perceptive historian and writes clearly and succinctly; nevertheless his book is less satisfying in its conception than in its generally admirable execution.

The anti–Poor Law "movement" was scarcely an entity worthy of extended study in isolation. For a couple of years, in 1837–38, resistance to the introduction of the New Poor Law became the chief focus of radical discontent in the North, but it was an issue chosen by those already discontented. In the kaleidoscopic history of Northern radicalism its place between the campaign for factory regulation and for the charter is modest enough. Edsall's careful account shows that the agitation against the New Poor Law in 1837 gained its apparent strength through the coincidence of inept haste on the part of the commissioners (lulled in part by their equally accidental easy success in the south), of economic recession, and of a temporary confluence of various Northern suspicions of "London" government and its alleged machinations against traditional local rights. The propaganda against the New Poor Law—which Edsall rightly finds "very mediocre stuff"—had scarcely more relevance to the real problems of poor relief than had the inanities of Cobbett in 1834. It is entirely understandable that the 1834 act should provide fuel for the fire in radical bellies, but even in the North no one died to preserve the Old Poor Law. Edsall's analysis of local reactions to the commissioners and their aggressive assistants reveals the ultimate weakness of a movement that might paralyze Poor-Law affairs in Huddersfield for a few months but could muster only seventeen votes for Fielden's repeal motion at Westminster. It remains astonishing that so revolutionary a piece of legislation should meet so little active resistance.

In later chapters Edsall gives a brief account of affairs in the Northern unions after 1938, when active resistance became passive, and old and new systems were alike found wanting in the face of industrial unemployment. He rightly remarks that the opposition "had no more idea than the Poor-Law commissioners of how to cope with really severe distress." Unfortunately his own assessment of the dilemmas inherent in the problem of providing a viable system of relief in England at this time is scarcely adequate either: his opening chapter on "The Debate on the New Poor Law" is—by his standards—superficial, and it is surely anachronistic and pointless to nominate a system of insurance as the "obvious alternative" to the New Poor Law that nobody had the wit or will to adopt. Even if so, why not? His useful account of the Northern opponents of the New Poor Law must remain only partially satisfying without a sharper sense of the significance of the innovations against which they were reacting. What were the commissioners in fact about, if not to poison paupers and destroy the social compact? Edsall shows signs of finding the champions of the new law rather more interesting than his ostensible objects of study, and it is a pity he did not widen his canvas further. Reality, not radicalism, defeated the ideologues of 1834 and taught the commission to compromise. This book is a good critical study of the critics, but what of the work itself?

J. R. POYNTER
University of Melbourne

ROBERT STEWART. *The Politics of Protection: Lord Derby and the Protectionist Party, 1841–1852*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 240. $12.50.

W. D. Jones published his biography of the fourteenth earl of Derby in 1956, without access to Derby's papers. In the early 1960s, however, the papers came into Robert Blake's possession, where they still remain on loan from the present earl. Blake's *Disraeli* (1966) used only the Disraeli letters in the collection, and his Ford Lectures used a few of Derby's copied letters. In the meantime Blake permitted Robert Stewart to consult the papers for the years 1841–52—having himself begun to prepare the definitive biography of Derby.

Stewart's subtitle, *Lord Derby and the Protectionist Party, 1841–52*, is misleading: the book is less a biography of Derby in these years

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than it is a detailed, chronological account of top-level party politics. Accordingly Peel tends to eclipse Derby, and later Derby shares the stage with Bentinck and Disraeli: at the end we still know Derby less well than we do the others. This is disappointing. At some point in the book, a thorough examination of Derby's personality and ideas would have been welcome. He was a puzzling, many-sided, fascinating man. As for his ideas Mr. Stewart at one point (p. 102) describes him as "intellectually a protectionist," at another (p. 220) remarks on his "deep attachment to the landed class." But nowhere is Derby's case for protection carefully analyzed, nor is his devotion to the countryside—beyond a partiality for bowling over rabbits—specifically demonstrated. Some account of the great Stanley estates in Lancashire where they bestrode both the worlds of corn and cotton would have been helpful: how much of the Stanley gross income by 1845 was nonagricultural? how much of it went back into agricultural improvements? what were the relations between the Stanleys and their tenants?

Generally Mr. Stewart does less well with the social and economic context of his political narrative than he does with the narrative itself. We are told, for example, that "there was a deep-seated repugnance to improvement among large landowners" (p. 39), which presumably helped to shape their protectionist outlook. But how many estate accounts have been examined in support of this statement? The unhappy answer is: very few. One might guess that further research will reveal that from 1830 onward large landowners were increasingly ready to pay the cost of estate improvements, keeping the nominal rental fairly stable but turning more and more of it back into the farming of the estate. After all, English farming was the best in the world. It is not likely to have got that way through neglect. Even a protectionist like Derby, far from being a slovenly farmer, was a conspicuous improver on a large scale before 1845.

It would be unfitting, however, to end this review on a querulous note. Mr. Stewart's chief object is to tell the story of the breakdown of Peel's party and of the ditherings and fumblings of what was in fact a new party, that of Disraeli, Bentinck, and Derby. The relations among these three remarkable men are now clearly worked out once and for all. No one can now mistake the oddities of Derby's politics—nor the acute discomfort he suffered in restraining Bentinck so as not to frighten the Peelites whom he eventually decided were Radicals. Last but not least, Mr. Stewart has produced an attractively written book, surprisingly so, in view of its origins as a doctoral dissertation.

DAVID SPRING
Johns Hopkins University

ROY DOUGLAS. *The History of the Liberal Party, 1895–1970*. With a foreword by JEREMY THORPE. Madison, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1971. Pp. xx, 331. $15.00.

Dr. Roy Douglas has written a book that is as much a symptom as a chronicle of the Liberal party's distress. Like its subject, it staggers onward from general election to general election, losing steam and becoming more and more peripheral to the times. Replete with a foreword by Jeremy Thorpe, who leads a half dozen Liberal M.P.'s in the present House of Commons, the work is very much an exhortation to the party faithful to keep the faith. Perhaps not surprisingly, when it is most eloquent as a political tract it proves least satisfactory in its historical judgments.

Without making altogether clear the significance of the dates that frame his study the author attributes his party's repeated misfortunes not to Liberalism, but to Liberals. One may recall that G. K. Chesterton reached precisely the same conclusion early in the century. Curiously enough, those whom Douglas deems responsible for the "avoidable mistakes" and other inadvertencies that, time and again, nearly extinguished the party were not the official leaders—who get off very lightly indeed—but usually their parliamentary whips: T. E. Ellis died before he could reconcile the Liberal Imperialists to the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman; Herbert Gladstone, guilty of a "squeamish refusal to strangle the Labour Party in its cradle," made possible the emergence of a rival to the left; Percy Illingworth ate an oyster that proved fatal, thereby bringing to the whipship John Gulland, whose failure to mend the ensuing breach between H. H. Asquith and David Lloyd George was fatal in its

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own right. In the years that followed, a succession of whips further embittered relations between feuding party leaders.

By emphasizing the strategic importance of the men who ran the party machine Douglas helps to restore a balance in Liberal historiography. But, at the same time, he manages the dubious feat of reducing Asquith and Lloyd George, among others, to two-dimensional figures. Lloyd George is blamed essentially for conveying an impression of instability and shiftiness: there is little attempt to evaluate the extent to which this reputation was justified. Asquith, more seriously, is faulted for his tenderheartedness toward Labour: in 1913 he piloted through the Trade Union Act, which allegedly filled Labour coffers; eleven years later he stepped aside ("Why he did so must remain a mystery") and allowed Ramsay MacDonald to form the first Labour government. This, "the most disastrous single action ever performed by a Liberal towards his Party," accelerated the drift from Liberalism, which, for all its intellectual dynamism, had forfeited the chance to be taken seriously as a political force.

Having once taken Lady Violet Bonham Carter to task (wrongly, he now concedes) for coquetting with the Tory enemy, Douglas criticizes Jo Grimond, Thorpe's predecessor, for attempting to come to terms with the Socialists. There can be no accommodation with other parties. Liberals of previous generations, by their indulgence toward Labour, served not the British worker, certainly not the cause of socialism, but only the Conservative party. It is an interesting thesis, but one that would require quite a different book to prove.

STEPHEN E. KOSS
Barnard College

NEVILLE THOMPSON. *The Anti-Appeasers: Conservative Opposition to Appeasement in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. 256. $7.25.

In most conventional histories of Great Britain in the 1930s, a special place is given those few members of the Conservative party who were alive to the dangers of nazism at an early date and who sought to alert the nation to the dangers represented by Hitler. The Conservative "opposition" is generally thought to have been led by men like Churchill, Eden, Amery, and Macmillan. The band, while never large, is usually represented as having been rather deliberate in its efforts to correct the mistaken policies of Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain.

Not the least of the accomplishments of Neville Thompson's book is to cast doubt on this traditional portrayal of the period. Thompson demonstrates conclusively that antiappeasement developed late in the decade and that few of the so-called antiappeasers were either consistent or bold in their opposition. Neville Chamberlain, with the passage of time, may appear to have been a rather ineffectual leader. While he was in office there were very few in his party who were prepared to tangle with him. The insufficiencies of Stanley Baldwin are now amply known; this did not mean that Conservative party backbenchers saw the Rhineland issue with much greater clarity than he did. Churchill is supposed to have had a sleepless night when Eden resigned from the Foreign Office; Neville Thompson suggests that Eden was never the strong man some of his friends thought him to be and that even after his resignation he was most deliberate in his efforts to dissociate himself from any effort that included Churchill.

In short what Thompson has done is to remind us how difficult it was in the 1930s to be a member of the Conservative party with ambitions for office and a readiness to risk one's career by overtly opposing the prime minister. Moreover, the issues were sufficiently complex that any simple policy of antifascism or antiappeasement seemed excluded. There was massive confusion at the time of the Manchurian and Ethiopian crises. What certain political men were prepared to say in 1938 and 1939 they were not saying at an earlier date. It was only the fact that they were right in the end that made their friends believe that they had been right all along. This is an admirable book. No new textbook on the period can afford to ignore its findings.

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD
Brown University

F. S. L. LYONS. *Ireland since the Famine*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1971. Pp. xiii, 852. $17.50.

Let us say at the outset that this new book by

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Professor Lyons covering the period 1850 to the present should become an indispensable work of reference. Whether it is the last word as a general history of Ireland for the period it covers is a different question. Comparing Irish historians who attempt surveys of their country's history to the ancient Israelites condemned to "make bricks without straw," Professor Lyons indicates the many gaps that remain in Irish history despite the monographic work of the last thirty years. For the nineteenth century scholarly preoccupation with the making and breaking of the Union has meant that other themes, quite as important, have been neglected. Economic, social, and cultural, as well as administrative and constitutional history are waiting for deeper attention. To fill the gaps in the narrative Professor Lyons has had to do a considerable stretch of fresh work himself. Commenting on the paucity of materials for twentieth-century Irish history, he suggests that the last third of his book, called "The Partitioned Island," be regarded as a pioneering enterprise that will have served its purpose if it stimulates others to study more deeply the contemporary history of Ireland. It is, I think, fair to say that the result is a scholar's book, where the questions and problems are argued with unwavering impartiality. But some quality—the sense of a nation's life—does not emerge with the clarity one would wish for in a general history. Perhaps the book's very impartiality deprives it of focus. In the face of Professor Lyons's modesty and thoroughness one hesitates to criticize, but books, whatever their merits, are also useful and significant if they suggest questions that they do not themselves answer. Irish history has suffered from parochialism, and one remedy for this is more comparative history. To raise a few questions: Is Pearse's cult of blood and violence to be seen solely in an Irish context? *The New Cambridge Modern History,* which covers the period 1898–1945, is called *The Age of Violence.* Where and how does Ireland fit in? Also, and here the new psychoanalytic history might suggest lines of enquiry, what kinds of people become patriots of violence, beating their heads against the walls of empire everywhere? What of the problems of religious and ethnic majorities or minorities in European states—the "little Ulsters" of Central and Eastern Europe, to use a phrase of Sir Lewis Namier's? Both English and Irish history would benefit from these comparisons. As for Ireland itself, is the nature of its constitutional tradition sufficiently explored? Beginning as he does in 1850 Lyons deals only with the latter part of O'Connell's career, but O'Connell's searchings for the right relations between Britain and Ireland as well as his philosophy of nonviolence are worthy of more attention by way of introduction. As for Ulster, why after 1886, when opposition to even a limited Home Rule had become so clear, was so little attention given to conciliating the North and to structures that might have overcome problems rather than complicating them? Lyons's account of the six counties from 1920 is admirably thorough, but its very thoroughness suggests the need for a separate history that will focus more directly on the North from the inside as well as on the problem it is for both Britain and the republic.

But comments on general history and on perspectives must not detract from the work Lyons has done. All scholars will be grateful for the superb bibliography, the thorough and informative footnotes, and for the chapters that, in some instances, bring scattered knowledge together for the first time, filling gaps in cultural, social, and economic history. His chapter, "The Battle of Two Civilizations" is especially valuable—pulling together as it does so much of the thinking about Ireland from Thomas Davis to Patrick Pearse. Finally, for those who come fresh to the field, Lyons's work should be read in conjunction with Oliver MacDonagh's brief *Ireland* (1966), which because of its very brevity focuses sharply on so many significant questions. Another recent helpful work brings to the Northern Ireland question the perspectives of political science: Richard Rose, *Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective* (1971). It opens up comparisons both with European and non-European states that have faced the intractable problems of different historical developments within confined boundaries and to which unitary nationalism seems to be no final answer.

HELEN F. MULVEY
Connecticut College

C. THELLIEZ. *Marie de Luxembourg, duchesse douairière de Vendôme, comtesse douairière de St.-Pol, comtesse douairière d'Enghien, dame de La Fère, et son temps.* (Anciens pays et assem-

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blées d'états, Number 52.) Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1970. Pp. xx, 150. 360 fr. B.

Marie de Luxembourg (d. 1546) was called Mother of the Poor by some of her contemporaries and is named Mother of Kings by Cyrille Thelliez (Marie's great-grandchildren included Mary Stuart and Henry IV of France), but she remains an obscure figure. To give substance to this small book, Canon Thelliez has had to devote most of the text first to tracing Marie's ancestry and then to following through three or four generations the many progeny of her marriage to François de Bourbon-Vendôme (no genealogical table is provided). Even so, half of the pages are given to plates. His very informal bibliography and documentation do not inspire confidence, but it does seem likely that Thelliez, the diocesan archivist of Cambrai, simply had too few sources to construct a satisfying account of the early life and long widowhood of Marie de Luxembourg.

This is volume 52 in the series *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états* published by the Belgian section of the International Commission for the History of Assemblies of States. The series was launched in 1950 in order to reclaim the history of *pays* or provinces and their institutions, subjects generally neglected for the history of cities and nations. The series has been of mixed quality, with no apparent attempt even to maintain uniform editorial standards. Its purpose is modestly served in this volume, especially in the few pages on Marie's administration of her estates and in the plates showing scenes of Cambrai and La Fère.

JOHN C. MOORE
Hofstra University

MYRIAM YARDENI. *La conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de religion (1559–1598).* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 59. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe moderne, Number 8.) Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1971. Pp. 392. 735 fr.

This ambitious study, which presents a conceptual synthesis whose elements are derived from a wide range of opinions, confirms the critical position of the sixteenth century in French history. The author first delineates the essentials of national consciousness at the time: (1) the kingdom is equal to the king in the *mystique* of French unity (p. 92); (2) the French conceive of themselves as God's chosen people and have "extreme confidence in their own powers . . . to surmount all obstacles" (pp. 35, 42); (3) Gallicanism is central to the conception the French have of themselves (p. 39); (4) the linguistic criterion is important ("it is the language and not the fact of being the king's subject that makes a Frenchman," (pp. 47–48); (5) the determining factor is the leadership of the *parlementaires,* whose juridical conceptions dominate the national history they created, and to be familiar with this history is a patriotic duty (pp. 62–67).

The case is argued in twelve chapters whose titles show national consciousness developing through a virtually dialectical process involving the entire spectrum of thought from absolutism to constitutionalism. Chapter 1 ("Etat et tolérance, 1559–1572") interprets the policy of Catherine de' Medici and Hôpital as the search for a *modus vivendi sur le plan civique* between the rival factions (p. 92). Chapter 2 ("Positions catholiques, 1559–1584") shows how the difficulty for Catholics of separating the notion of "France" from Roman Catholicism led to the claim by some that "heretics are not Frenchmen" (p. 109). It is doubtful, however, that the statement "the new reality of France as a political entity independent of religion had not yet achieved even the least place in Catholic thinking" (p. 119) is accurate as late as 1580.

In chapter 3 ("Positions protestants, 1559–1572"), we are reminded that the resort to arms was justified as a patriotic duty to rescue the king and the country from the "foreign" Guises (pp. 126–27). The question of whether the nobles' argument that they have the special function of defending the kingdom can be construed as a manifestation of national consciousness is answered affirmatively, given sixteenth-century ideas of the "nation" (p. 128). I would agree, adding that the point needs further development to convince readers unfamiliar with the period.

St. Bartholomew marks a revolution (ch. 4) because the *liaison mystique* between the king and the people was broken for the first time. But the claim that national consciousness was stripped of the centuries-old ties to the Crown and was based "exclusively on concrete and real factors [*données*]" (p. 148), even temporar-

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ily, seems exaggerated. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 ("Politiques, raison d'état et patriotisme, 1572–1589"; "Le Patriotisme protestant, 1585–1589"; "Catholiques, ligueurs et la chute du Roi, 1585–1589") analyze the growing polarization of the country and the various positions assumed toward the relative priority of the Salic Law and the other "fundamental law," that the king must be Catholic, including nuances of thought within each religious camp. Yardeni's treatment of the League (chs. 8 and 9, "Propagande de la Ligue, 1589–1593" and "Le Débat sur l'ordre social, 1589–1595") follows the traditional *politique* line, but also includes discussion of the class issue, when the nobles ironically lost prestige just as they rallied to a Crown that was resuming its central place in national consciousness.

The accession of Henri IV was the clinching factor in the emergence of a new and strengthened national feeling in all classes and ideological groups (chs. 10–12, "La Lutte pour l'unité national, 1589–1593"; "La Naissance d'une legende, Henri IV et la France, 1589–1595"; and "Le Dénouement de la crise et les redditions, 1593–1595").

One wishes, however, that the author had either made some attempt to distinguish among *sentiment national, conscience nationale,* and *patriotisme* or frankly conceded that whatever the earlier divergences they became inextricable with the rising threat to the very existence of France as a nation—whatever that term may connote. Although at moments she seems about to be carried away—the euphoria arising from the documents is contagious—the author realizes that the snowballing *ralliement* tends to smother the few dissident voices and that "history is written by the survivors" (p. 298).

The author's concentration on her thesis sometimes distorts the emphasis of the sixteenth-century writers themselves, as is the case with Bodin and Beza, for instance, but her contention that all groups (some unwittingly) contributed to the refinement and redefinition of national consciousness during the civil wars is clearly demonstrated. The scholarly apparatus is excellent, and there are few typographical errors—for example, the siege of Rouen (p. 61) should be 1562, and *L'Apologie de la Paix,* 1585 (p. 175 n. 35). Probably no single reader will agree with every statement, but everyone interested in French "national character" should read this useful and provocative book, which makes the history of France in the last four hundred years (in some respects) a seamless web and enlarges our understanding of what General de Gaulle called *une certaine idée de la France.*

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Boston University

MICHAEL PRAWDIN. *Marie de Rohan, Duchesse de Chevreuse.* London: George Allen and Unwin. 1971. Pp. 200. £3.00.

This book reads well. Unfortunately there is not much more that can be said for it. It is better than Victor Cousin's century-old book, excepting the extensive appendix of the latter. But it comes nowhere near surpassing Louis Battifol's sixty-year-old study. Mr. Prawdin has made life easier for the reader by excising many of Battifol's details, but he has substituted a series of general statements about the France of the early seventeenth century that are, to say the least, outmoded.

Beyond doubt there is ample room for books that are sympathetic to the opponents of Richelieu. The great nobility of seventeenth-century France deserve closer study by historians. As has been realized for a long time, the study of the role of women in the early modern period is a rewarding field. But none of these topics, which form the base on which Mr. Prawdin's book is built, is adequately handled by the author.

The bibliography is almost nonexistent. Primary sources are mostly limited to inferior editions of memoirs and letters. Technical errors, such as confusing parlements with provincial estates, are too numerous to mention. Marie de Rohan deserves something more than a pleasant tale.

J. MICHAEL HAYDEN
University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon

ROGER HAHN. *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666–1803.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. xiv, 433. $12.00.

Throughout the Enlightenment the Royal

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Academy of Sciences in Paris dominated the world of science to a degree that no other national institution has since done or had ever done. Professor Hahn has now devoted to it the most sophisticated history of a scientific institution to have been written since the famous *Geschichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1900). Unlike Harnack, who, in the classic tradition of *Ideengeschichte,* organized his account around the scientific and scholarly work produced in the Berlin Academy, Hahn writes in the current mode of social history and tells of the Paris Academy relative to the society around it rather than to the content of science, of which he says little. In retrospect it seems natural that the academy should have embodied in miniature the structural characteristics of the regime that created it: monarchical, hierarchical, prescriptive, and privileged. Hahn is at his best on the process by which the original project for a Baconian body, collaborating selflessly for the advancement of knowledge, became a forum for the play of individual ambition, where the goal was status in a tribunal ruling the affairs of science through control of publication, patronage, and the technical policies of government. He analyzes the failure of the academy to accommodate civic, educational, literary, and industrial aspirations in the latter years of the Old Regime; traces its suppression at the hands of the Jacobin Convention to its inability to adjust itself to radical political change in the Revolution; and exhibits the combination of more specialized professionalism with bourgeois belief in a meritocracy in the reorganization of science under the Institut de France in 1795.

All these matters are admirably worked out, and only in one respect might it be thought that the exclusion of science itself deprives Hahn of the opportunity to be fully convincing about a point equally important for the social and for the intellectual history of science. The point is that the pre-eminence of French science in the eighteenth century was almost certainly a function of the selectivity of the Paris Academy and its consequent ability to enforce standards. For lack of that authority the Royal Society degenerated into amateurism. The sociological discourse with which Hahn concludes his book does not seem to me to work very well. Never mind that, however. Like many another history, this one is better than its theoretical argument, and no historian working in this field can feel anything but gratitude and admiration for the ingenuity and generosity with which the bibliographical apparatus gives access to the literature.

CHARLES C. GILLISPIE
Princeton University

HENRY J. MERRY. *Montesquieu's System of Natural Government.* West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Studies. 1970. Pp. xvi, 414. $8.50.

Marx once said that Sir James Steuart had a deeper historical and a generally more sophisticated social outlook than most eighteenth-century economists because he was an aristocrat. The same remark could be made with even greater justice about Montesquieu. A sense of history is, indeed, often grafted upon the psyche of the nobility, and in Montesquieu's case it gave rise to a profound understanding of political psychology and sociology. He has not always received his due, and it is only in recent years that his originality and profundity are gaining the attention they deserve. Mr. Merry's book is a contribution to this task. It shows that the American tendency to concentrate on Montesquieu's constitutional theory, with its liberal doctrine of the separation of powers, slights the many far more interesting aspects of his thought. The central conflict for Montesquieu, according to Mr. Merry, was not the usual one between the individual and the state, but that between civil society and the political apparatus of the modern state. His second great concern was the dangers of religion. Mr. Merry says rather little about that, but he does show how the exclusion of the supernatural led Montesquieu to emphasize natural causes in his analysis of social formations. Wisely, Mr. Merry reminds us also that this did not make Montesquieu forget the unique character and importance of "moral causes." It is these, as they manifest themselves in the civil sphere, that Montesquieu set out to picture in all their complex interrelationships. Law, education, commerce, all received a detailed examination. Nor does Mr. Merry forget the radical cutting edge of Montesquieu's thought, especially in his ideas on criminal punishment.

Though there is little effort made to put

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Montesquieu in any sort of setting, social or intellectual, his influence on Hegel is very capably explained. There is some mention of the influence of the Roman historians upon Montesquieu, but not enough; and his deeper debt to Aristotle, a debt he and Hegel shared, is not brought out at all. Nothing much is said about the contemporary climate of ideas. The new psychology, the general spirit of libertinage and skepticism, and the reappraisals of the past are not discussed. Lastly, little is said about Montesquieu's historical theory and its bearing upon Europe's past and present.

This is, in short, an adequate work, but it has no audience in mind at all. It is neither original nor scholarly enough to interest serious students of the Enlightenment or of political theory in general. For the more elementary student it is too incoherent and selective. It has neither a central theme nor a set of worked-out interpretive lines of argument. Mr. Merry has obviously read Montesquieu thoroughly and has enjoyed it. One finds many sound remarks in his commentary, but it does not add up to a complete study of its subject.

JUDITH N. SHKLAR
Harvard University

THOMAS F. SHEPPARD. *Lourmarin in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of a French Village.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 88th Series (1970), Number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1971. Pp. xiv, 248. $11.00.

The themes of continuity, stability, and responsible leadership provided by pragmatic and humanitarian notables run throughout this study of eighteenth-century Lourmarin, a village of about 1,500 inhabitants located twenty miles north of Aix-en-Provence. There was little social or religious conflict, despite the fact that eighty per cent of the inhabitants were of Protestant background, and there were only two major crises—the plague of 1720–22 and the Revolution. Professor Sheppard's monograph compares favorably with many of the local and provincial studies undertaken in France. The author draws upon the disciplines of demography, sociology, and economics, and he uses municipal, departmental, and notarial archives. About forty per cent of his citations refer to the minutes of the village council's deliberations, which constitute the basis for his highly favorable appraisal of the village leaders. Separate chapters are devoted to the land, the people, government, finance, poor relief, the seigneur, and religion. The concluding chapter discusses the effects of the Revolution on the village. Twenty-six tables and five appendixes supplement the text.

Among the particularly important chapters is the one on "The People." Using techniques of historical demography and family reconstruction, the author analyzes population trends and mortality rates, calculates the frequency of illegitimate births, and argues that birth control, probably in the form of coitus interruptus, was practiced in Lourmarin before the Revolution. This chapter is stronger on statistics than it is on such subjects as the villagers' diet, dress, attitudes, and social life. The chapters on government and finance offer a clear picture of the socioeconomic background of the village officials, and they describe in detail the community's financial responsibilities and sources of revenue. However, the limited attention that the author gives to the importance of intendants and subdelegates in village government weakens his argument about increased centralization during the century.

Sheppard is more convincing about the limited effects of the Revolution on Lourmarin. Although the villagers "quickly adopted the verbiage and forms of the Revolution" (p. 208), they were only slightly affected by revolutionary laws concerning religion and property and by changes of regimes. This book is an important addition to the growing number of local and provincial studies that will provide a more balanced evaluation of the Old Regime and of the effects of the Revolution on France.

THADD E. HALL
State University of New York, Binghamton

THADD E. HALL. *France and the Eighteenth-Century Corsican Question.* New York: New York University Press. 1971. Pp. xxx, 255. $10.00.

The eighteenth-century Corsican question is a likely topic for a monograph, since the topic has not been investigated by many scholars and yet illuminates worthwhile aspects of the period. The grand theme of balance of power

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politics in the Mediterranean sphere, the struggle of a faction-torn but determined people against a hated state (Corsica versus Genoa), and the formulation of policy by a major power involved in both themes (France)—these are dramatic focal points vying for the attention of the author and his audience. Professor Hall has the linguistic, archival, and detective skills to uncover these themes, and he alludes to the broader situation throughout. Yet he has missed an opportunity to turn his capable study into a major work by focusing his attention on the chronology of French responses to the Corsican revolt against Genoa, 1729–68. Hall makes his point that there was no long-term, secret French plan to seize Corsica, and in the process he shows how even Genoese mishandling of the Corsicans and the danger of an English occupation failed to turn the French from a cautious and complex diplomatic-military handling of Genoese-Corsican relations until French sovereignty in the island loomed as the only solution. What I miss in all this is the precise connection with the European and Italian situations. The Wars of the Polish and the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, and the changing nature and titles of important Italian powers like Piedmont-Sardinia are somehow lost in the details of French diplomatic correspondence. Eighteenth-century French court politics is another neglected subject. Since Professor Hall knows all the relevant persons from Choiseul down, as well as all the diplomatic, military, and political agents sent from Versailles to Genoa and Corsica, it does not seem sufficient simply to pass names in review, alluding to an official only when he happened to say something and alternating between such individual pronouncements and the general category "Versailles." Skillful editorial work could have helped immeasurably here by identifying individuals more fully (rather than only at first mention, and then incompletely), just as better editing could have made the wars, the alleged Genoese "misgovernment," and the Corsicans' own squabbles more integrated and fuller parts of the book. The author's fine tangential work on French rule in Corsica after 1768, "Thought and Practice of Enlightenment Government in French Corsica" (*AHR*, 74 [1968–69]: 880–905), that the broad questions attract his attention as well as those that demand the technical skills demonstrated in this monograph.

A. LLOYD MOOTE
University of Southern California

WALTER MARKOV. *Exkurse zu Jacques Roux.* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Jahrgang 1970.) Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1970. Pp. xiv, 371. DM 72.

Historians in the German Democratic Republic have for some time been producing able studies on various aspects of the popular movement in France and Germany during the Revolutionary era. Hedwig Voegt's book on the radical publicist Rebmann, the work on the peasants and townsmen of Electoral Saxony by Percy Stulz and Alfred Opitz, and Heinrich Scheel's recent book on the South German Jacobins reflect the growing scholarly interest in those revolutionary militants who tried to voice the demands of the common people.

Long a recognized expert on the popular movement, Professor Walter Markov has already produced three volumes devoted to the life and works of the radical cleric Jacques Roux. The first volume examines the historiography of the *enragé* movement in general and Roux's particular place in it. The second is a biography of Roux covering his formative years and tracing his political career up to the point where he began to challenge Robespierre's leadership and the Jacobin definition of the Revolution. The third book presents an extensive collection of Roux's speeches, letters, and articles from *Le Publiciste de la République française* (1793).

In his fourth volume Professor Markov seeks to expand and explain the wide range of materials available for studies of Roux and his political activity. The book, organized into sixty chapters, covers all aspects of the red abbé's life. Markov devotes sections to Roux's family background, education, early career, role in the early phases of the Revolution, development as a radical spokesman, the growing conflict with the Mountain, and his final arrest, trial, and death. Markov also supplies detailed information on individuals and groups, some of them quite obscure, with whom Roux came into contact at important periods in his life.

In each chapter Professor Markov offers extensive bibliographical information. He em-

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ploys a wide range of unpublished sources including documents from the National Archives, departmental archives, and Parisian police reports. Printed sources include excerpts from local journals, the Parisian radical press, the *Moniteur,* and the *Archives parlementaires.* He also provides an impressive list of secondary works on the French popular revolutionaries.

Although there seems to be a lack of continuity between the chapters and much seemingly peripheral material unrelated to broader political, social, and economic trends, it must be kept in mind that the author is not seeking to write a full history of the Revolution or the popular movement. Moreover, Markov has succeeded in illuminating many aspects of Roux's life, and the wealth of bibliographical detail will be a valuable aid to those students and scholars who wish to investigate the complex story of the *enragés* and their leaders.

STEVEN T. ROSS
University of Texas, Austin

MAURICE AGULHON. *La vie sociale en Provence intérieure au lendemain de la Révolution.* (Bibliothèque d'histoire révolutionnaire, Third Series, Number 12.) Paris: Société des Études Robespierristes; distrib. by Librairie Clavreuil, Paris. 1970. Pp. viii, 531.

With this book Professor Agulhon completes the publication of his excellent doctoral thesis. Thanks to him Var must be the most elaborately studied department of France between the 1790s and 1851, and this volume, although the last to appear, deals with the earlier time period. Its title is somewhat too restrictive; half of the book concentrates on prerevolutionary society. On the other hand, its geographic limits of study are not those of all the interior of Provence but mainly that part which became the department of Var. What is lacking for this area is the revolutionary decade.

M. Agulhon is mainly concerned with structure rather than process. Postrevolutionary society hardly differed from its previous form, and this was especially true in regard to social structure, communal organization, and economic activity—the three aspects of Var that most attract his interest. In his descriptive analysis of them he is at his best, and his best is of a very high order. His minute study of social stratification is based on an exhaustive investigation of printed and archival sources. Although he is not as strong when dealing with styles of life among the strata, he provides us with a skillfully drawn picture of Provençal society at two critical periods. There is also an equally elaborate description of social role and power relations among the strata within several towns and villages. It was the village, he feels, with its concentrated population, hierarchical structure, and urban characteristics, which gave a special quality to Provence. Although the local economy was chiefly agricultural with an adjunct of artisan industry, there was not only a society as complex as that of a true town, but there was also a fairly well-defined and intricate class struggle between the commercial and industrial stratum and the large landowning classes, as well as between the nearly impoverished agrarian workers and the rich, whether mercantile or agricultural. Sporadic acts of violence were therefore part of a larger struggle—for more power, on the part of merchants; for more land and economic rights, on the part of village workers.

This argument is persuasive. It would be even more so if M. Agulhon had found a more effective means of presenting his data, especially his quantitative data. There are too few tables to summarize the immense detail, and in the section on landed property the text refers by number to tables that are not numbered. The weakness of graphic presentation is, happily, compensated for by his maps, but even here the value of maps 3 to 7 would have been enhanced by the use of place names.

These are relatively minor faults in a big book that is an important contribution to the growing volume of local history. It is contributions of this depth and merit that will soon make possible some new interpretations of French national history.

LEO A. LOUBÈRE
State University of New York, Buffalo

THEODORE ZELDIN, editor. *Conflicts in French Society: Anticlericalism, Education and Morals in the Nineteenth Century. Essays.* (St. Antony's College, Oxford, Publications, Number 1.) Lon-

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don: George Allen and Unwin; distrib. by Humanities Press, New York. 1970. Pp. 236. $6.50.

The great merit of Theodore Zeldin's book is to make concrete the psychological, sociological, political, human, and local tensions that sustained and made inevitable in nineteenth-century France the struggles between curé and *instituteur,* bishop and prefect, municipal council and parish. Zeldin in his examination of "The Conflict of Moralities" finds that both the curé and his secular antagonist alike sought a morality of prudence and pudency. They both desired a world of conventional habit; a place free of sin and deviation. On different paths the confessor and his critic were seeking a society protected from disturbances that challenged the wisdom of their separate sciences.

Robert Anderson's analysis of "The Conflict in Education" during his Second Empire concludes that the Falloux Law had to fail. The supporters of the University and those who trusted in the superior merits of Catholic secondary education fought to monopolize the educational control of the few privileged heirs of an inequitable society. Secular and clerical educators shared a common preference for the classics and similar views of pedagogy and discipline. The heart of their quarrel was their belief that only one of them could best serve a bourgeois world.

The ambivalence of moralists and educators was not experienced by those who possessed power. Austin Gough's discussion of "The Conflict in Politics" as that battle was waged by Monseigneur Louis-Edward Pie, the bishop of Poitiers from 1849 to 1880, makes clear how intransigent and destructive of the interests of those he served a bishop could be. Bishop Pie adamantly and unsuccessfully attempted to crush all who challenged his theology, his pastoral counsel, his politics. Gough convincingly demonstrates that Pie's struggles against the prefect and other secular authorities in his diocese alienated and aroused the repugnance of all prudent men. His conduct assured the contempt of all who desired some harmony and civil peace for France.

Malformed giants capable of the harm Bishop Pie inflicted on his people did not exist at the local level of French society. But Roger Magraw in his consideration of "The Conflict in the Villages," by concentrating on the communal strife in Isère during the Second Empire, demonstrates that smaller men could injure one another as mortally as did their grand superiors. Magraw's essay is a subtle and beautifully documented account of the legendary struggle between curé and mayor in the communes of France. This human, petty, and daily conflict has nowhere been better described or understood. The rich, original, and extensive archival documentation of the four essays in this slim volume makes it indispensable for all who would understand the social history of France in the nineteenth century. The historian is encouraged by these essays to shift his attention from the philosophical differences between believers and unbelievers to the social encounters and conflicts that touched the unborn, the infant, school children, young lovers, husbands and wives, the dead and the dying.

EDWARD T. GARGAN
University of Wisconsin, Madison

ALISTAIR HORNE. *The Terrible Year: The Paris Commune, 1871.* New York: Viking Press. 1971. Pp. 172. $12.50.

ÉDITH THOMAS. *Louise Michel: Ou la Velléda de l'anarchie.* (Leurs figures.) [Paris:] Gallimard. 1971. Pp. 475. 33 frs.

"At first sight," confides Mr. Horne, "the Commune might seem a somber subject for a coffee table book." He is, of course, correct. Nevertheless, for the centenary he condensed and rewrote chapters from his successful *The Fall of Paris* (1965), to which Richard Garnett then ably matched illustrations drawn principally from English sources. The result is an attractive and appealing volume—*sic transit* the Commune.

It remains to the author's credit that he writes well and respects historical fact. Hence, while the capitalist system exacts its price in the format this professional writer has chosen, *The Terrible Year* tells a more accurate story than many books on the Commune derived from party doctrine. But one should recognize that a certain distortion is part of the price. Strive for relevancy and interest, compress an already popularized text, and the nuances that define reality disappear. Under such pressures an analysis of the Commune's failure to seize

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the Bank of France becomes an amusing instance of personal intimidation, and a brief portrait of Charles Delescluze determines the Commune's character in its final period. What detailed appreciation of Parisian republican sentiment on March 18 could survive such a chapter heading as "Red Coup at Montmartre"?

Édith Thomas's biography of Louise Michel admirably demonstrates that, within a different format, the professional writer can contribute to scholarship. A graduate of the Ecole des Chartes, the late Mlle. Thomas held an advantage over Mr. Horne. As a librarian at the Archives Nationales she enjoyed ready access to the mound of documents with which France memorializes its politically suspect. Archival press clippings and police reports, supplemented by material from other depositories, enable the reader to follow closely the anarchist trail of the black-draped, mournful Communard who preached revolt—and occasionally practiced it—long after the Commune's demise. It is clearly the finest study available on this enigmatic saint of the Left, a well-documented narrative graced with bibliography, an index to proper names, and several appended, though poorly selected, illustrations. Here again, however, reservations follow from the writer's choice of format.

Although Édith Thomas drew extensively upon archival sources her purpose and perspective were those of the biographer rather than the historian. The author neglects secondary literature as she lets Louise Michel tell much of her own story up through the fall of the Commune. This dependence upon Michel's *Mémoires* and other writings appears uncritical in view of Mlle. Thomas's recognition that veracity was a weaker virtue of "la bonne Louise." While the treatment of her heroine's later years proves that the "red virgin" was more anarchist than red, and more probably a virgin than not, the historian would have welcomed further enlightenment regarding Michel's relations with the French Left. But for an avowed Marxist, Édith Thomas seems partial to the cult of personality and reluctant to discuss the implications for either socialism or society of a message that even Marxists found impractical and simplistic.

Future historians and biographers trained in psychology will undoubtedly have the last word concerning Louise Michel. How could they resist this ugly, illegitimate woman whose poems, prose, and heroic life expressed a passion for mankind, mother, and cats, but an obsession with blood, fire, and the cataclysm of world revolution. Édith Thomas hints at an analysis of Michel's ambiguous personality, though she hesitates to go further. Perhaps this is simply an intelligent biographer's prudent refusal to venture beyond her competence. Even so, the reader senses the author's relief at having spared from analytical assault the revolutionary mystique of her priestess of liberty, the ex-*pétroleuse* who faithfully tended what Mr. Horne cites as "that little flame which never dies."

LOUIS M. GREENBERG
University of Maryland

GUY ROSSI-LANDI. *La drôle de guerre: La vie politique en France, 2 septembre 1939–10 mai 1940.* Preface by RENÉ RÉMOND. (Fondation nationale des sciences politiques. Travaux et recherches de science politique, Number 14.) Paris: Armand Colin. 1971. Pp. ix, 247. 37 fr.

Utilizing a familiar title, Guy Rossi-Landi has written a thorough and perceptive study of the political and parliamentary confusions that characterized France during the first eight months of World War II. Although the causes of military defeat in 1940 are not ignored, they remain an issue subsidiary to the author's objective of clarifying the political scene. The thesis advanced is that the wartime Vichy governmental experiment can be explained by a history of the Third Republic but that the last months of the republic cannot be understood or explained by Vichy. Subthemes explore the role of the Communists, charges of rightist plots to destroy the republic, and accusations of pacifism directed against the Left before and during the Phony War. Rossi-Landi concludes that most of the blame for a military disaster in 1940 falls on French military leaders; the political contribution to defeat was indecision and the inability of the Daladier and Reynaud ministries to disavow their familiar world of parliamentary crisis in time to face a national crisis.

La drôle de guerre has most of the merits and some of the defects of its original form as a

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doctoral thesis. The usual research materials on the period have been fully utilized and skillfully supplemented by personal interviews with some three dozen political veterans. The appendixes are a useful reference tool with a detailed political chronology and the vote of every deputy on six key parliamentary issues. The reader is well advised, however, to have a thorough background in twentieth-century French politics, for a steady stream of minor political figures rush through the book's two hundred pages only to disappear into the obscurity that marked their political careers. Among the major politicians, Édouard Daladier most clearly reflects the unhappy meeting in 1939–40 between tumultuous events and indecisive leaders.

The number of books by scholars and popularizers on the critical months before the German invasion of France in 1940 grows steadily. Rossi-Landi has made a solid contribution to that body of literature. But if his study is not the last word on the politics of the dying Third Republic, one hopes that it will be the last with the same not so *drôle* title.

W. E. ADAMS
Arizona State University

ANTHONY HARTLEY. *Gaullism: The Rise and Fall of a Political Movement*. New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey; distrib. by E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. 1971. Pp. xv, 373. $10.00.

FRANK L. WILSON. *The French Democratic Left, 1963–1969: Toward a Modern Party System*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1971. Pp. 258. $8.95.

These two very different works are studies in political failure. In approach and methodology they have little in common. Yet they complement one another in throwing light on the very recent past. They tend to show that it is still true that "the new France," however transformed economically and socially since 1940, is far from having found a moderate democratic politics through which to express its aspirations and resolve its conflicts.

Anthony Hartley's well-written history of Charles de Gaulle and his politics is based on wide reading in the general literature. Disclaiming originality he nevertheless has the advantage of being able to survey the whole career and make some estimate of the immediate legacy at least. His picture of de Gaulle is that of a man whose basic thought had crystallized long before he emerged from obscurity (allowing, all the same, that the general altered his views on the colonial problem considerably after 1946). To this rather rigid and Manichaean thought was added the guile and political skill learned in the great adventure of the war. "By 1946 it can be said that the main elements of what Gaullism was later to be under the Fifth Republic had been assembled, though the proportions in which they were to be present at any one time were to change considerably over the years." The RPF experience and the years of exile sharpened his cunning before the return to power in 1958. By 1962 this "prince of equivocation" (the phrase is Robert Buron's) finally brought the Algerian war to an end, but not without ending also the ambiguity of the presidential role, revealing that in the new circumstances of the Evian peace he intended to maintain his exceptional powers, to be not the "arbitrator" but the "guide" of the nation, and to find his support in popular election, in plebiscites, and, however reluctantly, in the leadership of a great electoral party. Ultimately of course the nation tired of him. The gap between foreign policy objectives and achievements widened, the proposals for domestic reform ran into massive opposition, and the common taint of scandal sullied the movement. What survived the wreck of the May 1968 events was in fact this large conservative party, increasingly remote from the original Gaullist mystique, devoted to "bread and butter politics," as Hartley says. In sum, he sees "the Gaullism of de Gaulle" as having been no more than "an episode" and judges it good that it will remain only as "a current of intellectual intransigeance." The lingering moroseness of the *durs des durs* may be viewed as the highest compliment to the permanence and flexibility of the Fifth Republic's institutions, freed at last from the personality that shaped them.

It would be something quite different, however, to suggest that the politics of the Right has been reformed. Hartley alludes to "exemplary drama" yielding now to "the moneyed radicalism of the Third Republic." It is precisely France's failure to have the politics of

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her modernized institutions that concerns Frank Wilson. His is a clear and thoughtful book on the collapse of the attempt of the non-Communist Left to break with the traditionalist, fragmented tyrannies of the past. Whatever the possibilities for the UDR to become a great modern "catchall party" (Otto Kirchheimer's notion, which Wilson adopts and considers to be both the prevailing model in West Europe and the real hope for France), the democratic Left evidently destroyed its chances to do as much. So unyielding in their parochial natures were the Socialist and Radical parties, so powerful was the pull of ideology, so jealous were the relationships between rival leaders, so intransigent was the position of communism and so serious its appeal, that the hopeful phenomenon of the political clubs (which emerged in the 1960s to renew the old parties) found itself swallowed up in the rivalries and doctrinaire inflexibilities of those it sought to reform. This is spelled out at length in illuminating chapters on the abortive presidential campaign of Gaston Defferre in 1965 and the fate of François Mitterrand's Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste, which, unlike the mayor of Marseilles, took the road to leftist unity by way of the shrines of the past and so naturally succumbed to the old priesthood whose disastrous archetypal figure is Guy Mollet. On this reading, Mitterrand's fundamental error was to seek to remake the Left by uniting old factions, observing ideological imperatives, and rejecting "the new institutions, techniques and styles" of the Fifth Republic. The consequence was defeat in the 1968 elections and, in Wilson's judgment, a non-Communist Left more divided than before the general's return in 1958. The Left had failed to adapt to the changed social and economic situation of postwar France and Europe; its ineffectiveness was made more profound by refusal to accept political change as well. All this is admirably laid out here. Wilson's conclusions follow of course from acceptance of the Kirchheimer "catchall party" model as being the most valid for the reshaping of French politics. He makes a convincing case in his useful, concise, and agreeably written study of an instructive episode.

JOHN C. CAIRNS
University of Toronto

C. G. AMINOFF. *Nyuppsatta truppförband i Finland 1770–1808: Administrativ historia och personal* [The Newly Established Military Units in Finland 1770–1808: Administrative History and the Personnel]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 82.) Helsingfors: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1971. Pp. 319.

This study examines the administrative organization and the social composition of the officer and noncommissioned officer corps of the new military units established in Finland during the last forty years of Swedish rule. There exists a fairly extensive literature on the eighteenth-century military history of Finland, but C. G. Aminoff has broken some new ground and his work complements, in particular, Kaarlo Wirilander's studies of the military hierarchy. He makes some interesting observations concerning the changing distribution of officer vacancies between members of the nobility and the non-nobles, on different age groups, and on the nature and extent of nepotism. It appears, though, that the rather extensive data he has diligently assembled would have allowed for a more systematic analysis of these matters. Such an analysis and a concluding chapter, tying together several threads that remain disconnected, would have enhanced the value of the work. Its present value lies mainly in the sketches on military organization and in the compiled data for social historians.

PEKKA KALEVI HAMALAINEN
University of Wisconsin, Madison

VOLKER PRESS. *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619.* (Kieler historische Studien, Number 7.) Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1970. Pp. 543. DM 84.

Based on a dissertation of 1966 this study relates in great detail the political and religious institutions of the Palatinate in the sixteenth century and the activities of the rulers and the court officials who gave life and meaning to the offices they held. The author thus extends the earlier works of Max Steinmetz, Gretl Vogelgesang, and Henry J. Cohn on the government of the Palatinate in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Manuscript materials from family and state archives were extensively used in the collection of numerous details about the

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administration and policies of the Palatinate during the period 1508–1619. Primary attention is given to the administrations between the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, catastrophic for the Palatinate, for it was during this period that the electorate played an important political and religious role in German and European affairs.

The personalities and functions of scores of secular and church officials and the groupings and factions in the administration are described. The impact on the rulers and policies of such officials, ranging from the Grosshofmeister, the chancellors, marshals, and justices to appraisers and customs clerks, is fully told. The author plans to extend the research for the present work and publish an alphabetical-prosopographical catalog of all officials in the central administration of the Palatinate during the period 1544–1622.

With the changing religious scene, which of course not only had political overtones but also meant changes in officials, these were exciting and important years in the Palatinate. Under the reigns of Ludwig V and his brother, Friedrich II, the country, and therefore also the officials, gradually became Lutheran with reforms instituted in church and university administration. At first this form of Protestantism was quite moderate, but in the reign of Ottheinrich (1556–59) a bitter controversy arose at the University of Heidelberg where Tilemann Heshusen, general-superintendent, professor of theology, and member of the consistory, pushed for a rigorous Lutheranism. Disturbed by this quarrel the next elector, Friedrich III, led the territory to the adoption of a Calvinism in which the spirit of Melanchthon was noticeable. The ruler strengthened his own personal inclination to Calvinism by calling to Heidelberg the young scholars Zacharius Ursinus and Kaspar Olevian. These men worked with the elector in producing in 1563 the important and widely adopted Heidelberg Catechism.

Since Calvinism was not one of the official religions authorized by the Peace of Augsburg, the publication of the catechism and the growing Calvinism of the Palatinate created an issue in the Empire. However, Friedrich withstood the pressures exerted upon him and proceeded to introduce a firm church discipline. The opposing views of the theologian and physician Thomas Erastus, who favored a system in which the civil government exercised church discipline, were later to give rise to the term "Erastianism." When Ludwig VI succeeded his father in 1576, a Lutheran reaction occurred and the Calvinistic professors, preachers, and officials were expelled—to spread their Calvinism elsewhere. A similar change-over of officials occurred after the accession of Johann Casimir in 1583 when the Reformed religion was restored.

A bibliography of unpublished and printed sources and an extensive index of persons and places complete this lengthy and interesting study of the officials, many of whom had been previously little known, who worked with and influenced the policies of the rulers of the Palatinate during an important period in the history of this state.

KARL H. DANNENFELDT
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FRITZ WOLFF, editor, with the assistance of HILDBURG SCHMIDT-VON ESSEN. *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*. Series III-A, *Protokolle*. Volume 4, *Die Beratungen der katholischen Stände*. Part 1, *1645–1647*. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1970. Pp. lxvii, 585. DM 112.

In 1957 a number of German historians founded the Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte to facilitate the publication of documentary material and studies dealing with sixteenth- to twentieth-century history. As one of its major projects this society decided on the publication, under the general editorship of Max Braubach and Konrad Repgen, of documentary material of the Peace of Westphalia. At first sight it might appear surprising that so much money, effort, and talent would be devoted to the publication of purely political material of the seventeenth century —an undertaking more characteristic of nineteenth-century historiography than modern historical interests. But there is no doubt that the Peace of Westphalia not only profoundly influenced the European state system and the future course of German history; it was also the first example of a major European peace conference. Older incomplete collections of documentary material, published in the eighteenth century, are hard to get and, in any case,

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do not meet modern scholarly standards. A modern and complete edition of the relevant material will prove a boon to seventeenth-century historians. The publication is divided into three series, each of which will have several volumes: first, instructions; second, correspondence; third, transcripts, diaries, and documents. The present volume, the fifth that has appeared so far, is devoted to the transcripts of discussions in the Corpus Catholicorum.

For the purpose of solving the divisive religious problems that had helped turn the empire into a battle field, the Estates met in 1645 not as the three houses of the Imperial Diet where the Catholics had the majority, but divided along religious lines into the Corpus Evangelicorum and the Corpus Catholicorum. The subject of the negotiations was the gravamina, the grievances, that the Protestants had last presented to the Imperial Diet in 1640. The grievances mainly dealt with the disputed provisions of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 and, therefore, with the political structure of the empire and the future of Catholicism and Protestantism in Central Europe. As it turned out, the Catholic Estates were quite intransigent, forcing the emperor to negotiate on his own the religious questions with Sweden and the Protestants.

An official transcript of the deliberations in the Corpus Catholicorum was not kept. But the twenty ambassadors of the fifty-five Catholic Estates were free to take notes of the discussions and decisions. Fritz Wolff, the editor of the present volume, has collected transcripts of the various ambassadors in twenty-three archives and identified with much skill their dependence upon each other. He based his edition upon the most complete and detailed manuscript, the transcript kept by the ambassador of the city of Cologne. Historians will be grateful that he published, apart from repetitions and minor points, the entire original text of the transcript. The text of the Cologne manuscript was supplemented by the transcripts of other ambassadors whenever the latter contained additional or more detailed information. The editor is thus able to offer a text that, by and large, records verbatim the entire discussions, revealing in fascinating detail the position taken by individual ambassadors. Altogether seventy-eight transcripts appear in this volume, covering the period from October 1, 1646, to April 2, 1647. The editor also provides an extremely useful scholarly apparatus. In short, this volume is a fine example of intelligent scholarship. I look forward to the appearance of future volumes of this excellent publication.

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN
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DIETRICH GERHARD, editor. *Ständische Vertretungen in Europa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 27. Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, Number 37.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp. 437. DM 44.

The history of parliamentary institutions, so well explored in France and in England, had not attracted the attention of German scholars until after World War II. Perhaps the main reason for the rather late flowering of revisionistic studies of this problem was the dominance of the schematic and typological theory of political development elaborated by Gustav Schmoller and modified by Otto Hintze and his students. According to the article by Sven Palme that is included here, in Sweden as well as in Germany historians friendly to the cause of state building and absolutism long denigrated representative assemblies. Consequently, the study of the parliamentary bodies of the Old Regime became the study of institutions that were weak and that failed or, more charitably, the study of a vanished form of political life. This collection of articles, however, incorporates new interpretations and fresh evidence in an overall survey of the *Stände* at national and provincial levels for Central, Northern, and Eastern Europe. No specific articles on France, Holland, or Russia have been included. The contributions, mostly by German scholars, are of high quality.

In his valuable introduction to the collection Gerhard indicates that the work of Roland Mousnier, L. B. Namier, R. R. Palmer, and Franklin L. Ford has enabled German specialists to revise their views on the Estates. The *Stände* were not always rivals of monarchical or princely power; they sometimes were associates of it. In fact in Sweden, Bavaria, and

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Poland the deputies of the Estates sometimes obtained the upper hand over the ruler for a period only to be subordinated later; periods of absolutism alternated with periods of the *Ständestaat.* Particularly influential in developing this revisionist position, so evident in most of the contributions, was the pioneering work of O. Brunner, *Land und Herrschaft* (1965).

Foreign policy and war played a very large role in allowing particular rulers to achieve a short-term dominance over their Estates. The Thirty Years' War and the wars of Louis XIV enabled the rulers of Bavaria, Sweden, Poland, Hanover, and Hesse to secure control of their Estates because the latter feared military invasion. In Hesse, as Karl Demandt indicates, the practice of renting out of soldiers was instituted by the ruler after 1677 partly to escape financial bondage to the Estates. During the relatively peaceful years of the eighteenth century the Estates were able to recoup their ancient authority. Hanover fell more and more under the dominance of its Estates following the departure of the elector to become king of England. As Rudolf Vierhaus indicates, the Hanoverian Elector had to negotiate with six different Estates and could not, perhaps, maintain his grasp while in England. John Sobieski was never an absolute monarch, only a very popular leader of the multitude of Polish nobles; when his work was finished his successors could never obtain wholehearted support from the Diet. The eighteenth-century "renaissance" of the Estates throughout Europe may have been due to generally more peaceful conditions on the international scene than had previously existed.

Hintze did not always adhere to his earliest interpretation of the development of the *Ständestaat* to the *Gesamtstaat,* as Gerhard Oestreich indicates in his excellent discussion. Primarily in the later, post–World War I years Hintze saw the Estates as forerunners of modern constitutional and representative governments. Thus he modified his earlier view that the Territorial State was "dualistic" and consisted of a stalemate between its two component parts: *Stände* and ruler. This latter-day interpretation has led many of the contributors to this collection to maintain that there was indeed a continuity between the Old Regime Estates and nineteenth- and twentieth-century parliamentary bodies. Gerhard in fact maintains that one cannot understand the latter without examination of their *Ständestaat* predecessors. Palme reveals that a number of contemporary Swedish historians have re-examined the "Freedom Period" of the Swedish parliamentary supremacy of certain decades of the eighteenth century in order to clarify the rise of Social Democracy and representative government later. The Estates of Württemberg were preludes to modern constitutional assemblies because they were closer in outlook to the common people, despite their unrepresentative character, than was the ruler. Gerhard A. Ritter sees a similar continuity in the "balance of power" in the English governmental system.

But most of the contributors remain dubious about the validity of this concept. Hartmut Lehmann sees the dependence of the Württemberg Estates on legal precedent their greatest strength, but also their greatest weakness. While old rights and concessions were zealously guarded by *Ständestaat* lawyers, nothing was done to institute new legislation or a new political relationship. This extremely important conclusion must be kept in mind in regard to all of the other states covered in this survey. Perhaps the Estates everywhere, except in England and possibly Sweden, were really antiquated strongholds of petty local privilege, as much captives of the Old Regime as the rulers.

On a less ambitious level many of these articles provide useful information on the actual workings of the Estates. Hans Roos claims that the Polish aristocracy, eight per cent of the total population, erected a kind of "gentleman's democracy" and influenced political radicalism in Europe; this is provocative but exaggerated. Palme's "party system" in Sweden may have been nothing more than the usual battle of cliques or cabals that characterized the life of most small and large Estates in Europe. How did the Swedish parliament, for example, reflect the desires of the majority of Swedes? György Bonis condemns the Hungarian Estates for their "baroque sterility." Peter Baumgart shows that the Electoral Mark *Landschaft* remained important during the eighteenth century in Prussia: this is a valuable contribution. Herbert Hassinger provides information on the important local administrative services main-

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tained by the German Austrian Estates until 1848. Generally, the Estates throughout Europe were occupied, routinely, with a multitude of small complaints and petitions, "private members' bills" as Bonis aptly calls them.

These articles not only pinpoint some of the central issues of the history of the European Estates, they also introduce the student of comparative history to the local literature. Palme, for example, gives a valuable introduction to the sources for Sweden. The shadow of Hintze, while still covering much of the work of these scholars, is beginning to retreat. Günter Birtsch recommends more intensive and extensive research, particularly on social and economic factors. The paucity of information has doubtless persuaded most of these writers to follow the known road of constitutional and political history rather than to embark on the trail provided by Fernand Braudel and his followers.

HUBERT C. JOHNSON
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INGRID BÁTORI. *Die Reichsstadt Augsburg im 18. Jahrhundert: Verfassung, Finanzen und Reformversuche.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 22.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp. 210. DM 21.

By the eighteenth century the Free Imperial City of Augsburg had lost much of its former glory. In a thoroughly documented and extremely detailed study, Dr. Bátori tries to refute the commonly accepted view that it was without historical interest. Unlike other recent historians of European cities, the author devotes little attention to social and cultural affairs. Instead she concentrates on the interaction between Augsburg's constitutional arrangements and its financial practices. She is intrigued by the contrast between the prosperity of its private citizens and the disarray of its public finances. Much of the latter she ascribes to an antiquated constitution. Based on the *Regiment* imposed upon the city by Charles V in 1548, the government was hierarchical, exclusive, overwhelmingly patrician, and rife with nepotism. Public offices were too numerous for a city that had lost half of its population since the sixteenth century. Because of the necessity for religious parity between Catholics and Protestants in higher positions, public offices were also often overstaffed.

A final decline began with the harvest failure of 1770–71, which cut off Augsburg's usual sources of supply and forced the magistrates to spend vast sums buying grain abroad. From then until the end of the century increasing expenditures were financed by borrowing at high interest rates, while attempts at internal financial changes were frustrated by the cumbersome political structure. Various reform commissions came to nothing and efforts to broaden the constitutional base were rejected by the imperial authorities. After 1795 opposition to the magistrates came most prominently from the merchants, who were still largely excluded from the government. This opposition, in the author's opinion, was nonrevolutionary and constructive. It was also ineffective, as was one last vast expenditure by the magistrates, a bribe to the French to preserve Augsburg's independence. The government had become isolated. Even many patricians no longer supported it. "Voulez-vous être de la Bavière?" Napoleon asked a delegation of patricians and merchants. The financial problems of an independent Augsburg were at an end.

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HEDWIG BEHRENS. *Mechanikus Franz Dinnendahl (1775–1826), Erbauer der ersten Dampfmaschinen an der Ruhr: Leben und Wirken aus zeitgenössischen Quellen.* (Schriften zur rheinisch-westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 22.) Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln. 1970. Pp. xvii, 579.

Unlike the other volumes in this series of studies on Rhine-Ruhr industrial history published by the Rhenish-Westphalian Economic Archive in Cologne, Miss Behrens's well-edited book is not a monograph at all but a compilation of documents relevant to the activities of Franz Dinnendahl, machinist. The son of a miller, educated only in rural grade schools, at first a miner's helper before he learned the mechanist's trade, Dinnendahl was one of the founders of the Rhenish machine tool industry as well as a leading mining entrepreneur. The cohort of other Rhineland founder families,

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for example the Krupps, Stinneses and Springorums, he belonged to an artisan class that learned and applied a new industrial technology and laid the foundations of West Germany's later industrial revolution. Capital was scarce—most of it was borrowed from wealthy aristocrats who played a banker's role. Manufacture of steam engines (as good as those of Boulton and Watt, Dinnendahl thought) led him into metallurgy and mining enterprises. The boom of the Napoleonic period ended in a depression that proved disastrous, and as he had overextended himself while coal markets collapsed after 1815, Dinnendahl went bankrupt. Yet his businessman's vision was not wrong. The speculative extension of deep mining failed in 1815–22 because capital was scarce, government regulation was excessive, market conditions were poor, and the machines available could not yet prevent flooding in deep shafts.

The author used Dinnendahl's interesting autobiography (from the family firm's archives), and sources from local town and mining company archives. There is also a useful technical glossary and a good introduction by Hermann Kellenbenz. As the history of early industrialization is often fragmentary, further studies of this sort for other parts of Germany ought to be encouraged.

HELEN P. LIEBEL
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SIEGFRIED SCHMIDT. *Robert Blum: Vom Leipziger Liberalen zum Märtyrer der deutschen Demokratie*. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1971. Pp. 336. DM 24.

Robert Blum is remembered more for his death before the muzzles of Field-Marshal Windischgrätz's firing squad than for his life as a leader of Saxon and German democratic forces before 1848. His martyrdom for the German revolutionary cause has assured him a firm place in the authorized pantheon of German working-class heroes: a recent collection of workers' songs recorded in East Germany, for example, begins with a *Robert-Blum-Lied*. The undeniable national popularity of Robert Blum led to a spate of literature and song after his death (including a standard biography by his son) followed by decades of comparative neglect.

Now Siegfried Schmidt of Jena seeks to rescue Blum from the "shadow of falsifying bourgeois interpretation" (p. 7). The preface, which acknowledges Franz Mehring's biographical canon of mixing admiration with criticism, awakens hope that this new work might qualify or overturn the widely held impression among nonsocialist historians that Blum was overrated as a politician and confused or vacillating as a political and social analyst.

Such a hope is not rewarded. The author clearly admires Blum greatly, too often gliding over failings of character and tactics. In really serious cases he attributes such failings to the impersonal force of petit-bourgeois false consciousness. Following Engels (but not improving on him) Schmidt emphasizes Blum's transcendence of his milieu rather than the milieu itself. As a surrogate he presents an excessive amount of general background material already available in East German textbooks. Despite references to widespread archival work, the author leaves the impression that he was unable to unearth much new information, for he sometimes resorts to undocumented speculation. Blum's childhood and youth flash by in a handful of pages, while 1848 consumes a good half of this biography. Psychologically Blum emerges flat and one-dimensional.

Despite Schmidt's somewhat repetitive style, he must be credited for rendering his uncomplicated explanations in uncomplicated language. To add unnecessarily to the woes of this book, the publisher has provided no index but has allowed many technical errors to slip into print. With all these faults *Robert Blum* is a pedestrian but readable political biography centered heavily on the background of 1848. It could have been done better; but unless more information can be discovered, it is doubtful whether it must be done over.

CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND
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WALTER WAGNER. *Geschichte des K. K. Kriegsministeriums*. Volume 2, *1866–1888*. (Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, Number 10.) Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1971. Pp. 287. DM 56.

This second volume of a projected three-volume history of the Austrian War Ministry from 1848 to 1918 covers the twenty-odd years

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following upon the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866. It deals with the reorganization of the army after Austria's defeat in that war and the establishment of an autonomous Hungary within the Empire. The resulting administrative, organizational, and linguistic difficulties and their solutions are covered with expertise and thoroughness. Dr. Wagner also discusses at great length the troubled relations between army commanders and civilian authorities, with Emperor Francis Joseph serving as a rather unpredictable arbiter of their quarrels. Specialists in Austrian military history will find the book a rich source of information on the period in question.

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HANSGEORG LOEBEL, editor. *100 Jahre deutsche Geschichte.* (Niedersächsischen Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung.) Leer: Verlag Gerhard Rautenberg. 1971. Pp. 179.

The centenary of the proclamation of the German Empire on January 18, 1871, has produced a flood of books, pamphlets, and articles in the German Federal Republic seeking to interpret the significance of national unification in the light of the historical experience of the last hundred years. Some of this literature is of interest primarily for the world of scholarship, but most of it was intended for the general reading public. Hansgeorg Loebel has collected eight articles in the latter category for inclusion in a thin volume dealing not only with the Bismarckian era but with the history of Germany since then as well. Although the authors are trained scholars their purpose is to summarize and popularize the conclusions of professional historiography rather than to present the findings of original research. The result has some of the quality of a Sunday supplement, yet it is a superior example of that genre. Avoiding the quaint and sensational it attempts to enlighten not to titilate. Its interest for the historian, nevertheless, lies in what it reveals regarding the view of the past offered by the popular press to the educated public in Germany.

The articles themselves, though they are all interpretive rather than investigative, vary considerably in quality. The one by Theodor Schieder analyzing the changing concepts of the German nation from the eighteenth century to the present is a fine example of popular history. Sound and thoughtful, it seeks to familiarize the intelligent layman with the judgments of scholarship. Ingomar Bog presents a solid yet readable account of economic developments since 1871 that successfully avoids the extremes of simplification and complexity. Carl Jantke describes with skill the relations between employers and employees during the last hundred years and their shifting attitudes toward one another. On the other hand, the article by Friedrich Klemm depicting technological progress is little more than a lengthy catalog of names and inventions unencumbered by any ties to political, economic, or social history. Richard Nürnberger offers a familiar and pedestrian summary of German foreign policy, especially since 1918, popular in tone but undistinguished in style. And Hansgeorg Loebel himself, while entitling his contribution "Germans on the Other Side of Our Borders," deals exclusively with the Teutonic minority in Latvia, Estonia, and Romania. Many historians will want to leaf through these pages for their flavor, but only a few will consider it worthwhile to read them with intensive care.

THEODORE S. HAMEROW
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BRADLEY F. SMITH. *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making, 1900–1926.* (Hoover Institution Publication 93.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University. 1971. Pp. ix, 211. $6.95.

Each of us, when reflecting upon the formation of his conscious personality, is aware of the complexity, ambiguity, and even chanciness of the steps. Few modern men seem to believe that they "made themselves" or even that they just "unfolded" out of innate tendencies. Yet when many scholars, even historians, confront the lives of leading national socialists, attempts are made to establish uniformities, integrities, continuities, and causal sequences based almost exclusively on individuals' personal choices. Although Bradley Smith's subtitle might suggest a rather preconceived outcome for his study of Heinrich Himmler's childhood and youth, his book is truly a milestone on the road to scientific biography applied to those normally stereotyped as "Nazis." Working carefully from the

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Himmler family's personal papers, which Himmler's personal staff had assembled, as well as from Himmler's boyhood diaries and from correspondence scattered in party, SS, and other captured German records, Smith reconstructs a believable human being with whom one can sympathize and occasionally identify. There is more contour and contrast in the portrait of this awkward, talkative, eager boy than in the earlier sketch Smith did with Werner Angress in 1959 (*Journal of Modern History,* 31 [1959]: 206–24).

Compared with Peter Loewenberg's intensely interpretive (but highly schematic) essay on Himmler's "unsuccessful adolescence" (*AHR,* 76 [1971]: 612–41), Smith's narrative is richer with data and evidence and more restrained in generalization. Smith has no need to succumb to tempting allusions and analogies with the career of the *Reichsführer SS;* he has adequate factual material to describe a twenty-one year old or an eighteen year old, and that is what he writes about. While Smith is very effective in bringing out what Himmler's parents "did to" him, the art of the book lies in our ability to watch the youth "try on" alternative roles and behaviors offered by the kaleidoscopic processes of 1918–22. His effort to integrate for himself the contradictory values and tendencies of his background and his expanding horizons is extremely well portrayed. Gradually (1923 is sketchy due to missing diary sections) Himmler builds himself a niche in the Hitler movement and as he does so becomes more self-assured and competent. Without a doubt, as he becomes more mature he becomes more comfortable. The needs he was able to meet in the fascist political milieu made it worth his while to follow and serve Hitler. Yet his personality was no carbon copy of Hitler, Strasser, or Roehm. He was on his own. Smith gives us just enough glimpses of the man in his mid-twenties to enable us to acquire a distaste for this busybody, prude, and intrigue artist. But now he is a real live, three-dimensional participant in history.

ROBERT KOEHL
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WILHELM DEIST, editor. *Militär und Innenpolitik im Weltkrieg 1914–1918.* In two volumes. (Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien Bad Godesberg; Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt Freiburg im Breisgau. Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. Second Series, Militär und Politik, Number 1, parts 1 and 2.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1970. Pp. clxxiii, 647; 651–1530. DM 184 the set.

Although many military records of Imperial Germany, including practically all files of the Prussian army authorities, were lost when the Potsdam *Heeresarchiv* burned down in 1945, meaningful research on the army's role in the Second Reich is nevertheless still possible. In addition to the archives of the imperial navy, which survived the last war almost intact and constitute a fair source of information on some army matters, the private papers of many prominent Prussian officers have lately become accessible as well—most of them now being in the custody of the *Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv* at Freiburg. Moreover, since some *Bundesstaaten* of the Second Reich had war ministries and certain other semi-autonomous army institutions of their own, valuable evidence, including many reports and directives from the "central" army authorities in Berlin and, during the war, also from the field headquarters of the general staff, was preserved in various regional archives.

In preparing this edition of documents on the German military and domestic policy during the First World War, Dr. Deist has made thorough use of all West German archival holdings. The privately controlled Hindenburg *Nachlass* as well as documents in the DDR were unfortunately not accessible to him. Expertly introduced and annotated, the material he has assembled—official papers, private letters, diary entries, etc.—offers much fresh information on the activities of the German military authorities on the home front, particularly as regards their attitude toward the civilian branches of the government and their role in the maintenance of public order, in censorship and propaganda, and in the economic mobilization of the country. On certain issues that transcended the realm of *Innenpolitik,* such as the submarine controversy, the debate on war aims, or developments in Alsace-Lorraine, the documentation has been deliberately kept to a minimum, but these space-saving limitations do not materially affect the value of the collection.

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Recent studies, notably Gerald D. Feldman's *Army, Industry, and Labor in Germany, 1914–1918* (Princeton, 1966), have already shown that some German army officers in positions of influence during the war were relatively "progressive" in their approach to economic and social problems. Numerous documents in Deist's collection not only reinforce these findings but also indicate that there were a good many "deputy commanding generals" and other military functionaries who carried out their administrative responsibilities on the home front with far more political acumen and sensitivity to the mood of the civilian population than they have usually been given credit for. That many other officers were reactionary in outlook or inept in handling domestic affairs is, of course, well known—and amply documented here as well.

The collection is rounded off by several useful charts on organizational matters and a map of the corps command areas. The *Register,* prepared by Hans Umbreit, is over a hundred pages long, but many entries are rather imprecise. General von Bissing, for example, is listed as governor general of Belgium until 1918 (he died in April 1917), and General Wild von Hohenborn is identified as deputy war minister during a period when he was actually commanding a division at the front or serving as quartermaster general in the OHL. It is to be hoped that in a new edition these and many similar slips in the index will be eliminated from what is otherwise a meticulously edited and informative work.

ULRICH TRUMPENER
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CLAUS GUSKE. *Das politische Denken des Generals von Seeckt: Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion des Verhältnisses Seeckt—Reichswehr—Republik.* (Historische Studien, Number 422.) Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1971. Pp. 283. DM 45.

Mr. Guske has written a thorough, complex, and organic presentation and analysis of the political thought of General Hans von Seeckt and of the relationship of his political thought to his actions in the major crises of the Weimar Republic's early years. After a brief sketch of Seeckt's background and early life, the author turns to a careful consideration of the development of Seeckt's political ideas and conceptions during the course of World War I, providing a survey both of the enduring skeleton of his political frame of reference and the variations upon this theme that indicated the influence upon the general of contemporary events and currents of thought. His third chapter is devoted to a systematic exposition of Seeckt's political thought, with primary emphasis upon its constant elements. The fourth and final chapter considers and presents the thought and actions of Seeckt during his period of activity as a senior officer or the *de facto* commander in chief of the Reichswehr. A short summary concludes the book.

In general, Guske has achieved his purpose. His presentation is well organized, clear, and effective, and his arguments are generally compelling. He has used the available sources and the secondary literature in the field in an exemplary manner, exploiting it for evidence and examining it for coherence, accuracy, and contradictions. His second and third chapters, however, suffer to some extent from unnecessary repetition both of Seeckt's ideas and of Guske's commentary on these ideas. Had these chapters been pruned the book would be easier to read and have a sharper impact.

The book is valuable because it pulls together Seeckt's ideas regarding politics and examines them for consistency, for applicability, and for their influence upon his actions. The analysis is fair and balanced, even though it is clear at times that the author is not at one with Seeckt in his beliefs, which must have made his task sometimes difficult. Guske corrects errors and refutes allegations regarding Seeckt's ideas, attitudes, and actions in the work of such historians as F. L. Carsten, Walther Goerlitz, and Wolfgang Sauer on the basis of factual evidence and Seeckt's turn of mind and political concepts.

On the debit side, aside from repetition, some of the author's points seem to be heavily belabored. And in viewing the factors leading Seeckt to take a conservative viewpoint and to see life in terms of a continual struggle, Mr. Guske might well have considered more specifically the impact of the military life and professional values, along with those he presents. He might also have given more consideration to the years after 1924 in Seeckt's active career and particularly to the circumstances of his departure from office. Finally, in a book dealing

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with the general's political thought one misses any mention of his specific reactions to National Socialism in the later years of the republic and the early years of the Third Reich.

In sum, Mr. Guske has provided the historian of Weimar Germany and the student of political science and political thought with a valuable compendium and appraisal of Hans von Seeckt as a political thinker.

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DAVID FELIX. *Walther Rathenau and the Weimar Republic: The Politics of Reparations.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 210. $9.00.

The tortuous history of reparations has often been told; but this study, concentrating on the early period (1921 and 1922) when Rathenau became a key figure and a symbol for the politics of fulfillment, makes a valuable contribution to the subject. The slender volume is based on very thorough research in the various archives, including the German Central Archive in Potsdam, and hence enriches our knowledge at several points. The Stinnes-Rathenau dispute at Spa, for example, appears less black and white; we learn more about Rathenau's important negotiations with the British government late in 1921; the character and the issues of the German Cabinet crisis late in May 1922 over the Paris agreement of Finance Minister Hermes become clearer. The book thus fills a gap in the literature in English since Ernst Laubach's *Die Politik der Kabinette Wirth 1921–1922* (1968) has not been translated.

The book, in spite of dealing with heavy technical material, reads exceedingly well. As to the inner contradictions of the reparation story and reparation politics, they are only too well known: the key role—not yet assumed—of the United States; the unwillingness of the Allies to let Germany earn, by way of foreign trade, the cash to pay reparations; the insoluble transfer problem; the contradiction in the French position of wanting a Germany rich enough to pay indemnities and at the same time one that was ruined; the gap between economic reality and public expectations that forced every official to lie or at least to obscure the truth. Most important is the point made by the author—that any drastic attempt by the German government through radical taxation or confiscation of property to pay the quantities of wealth the Allies demanded would have meant revolution in Germany, that is, violent resistance, and this was something the Allies did not want either.

As for Rathenau himself, the picture that emerges, while drawn critically, is well balanced, full of psychological insight, and the appraisal altogether judicious. Where it remains ambiguous this is due less to the author than to the person he portrays. However, Felix does Rathenau less than justice in not stressing enough his awareness that he was merely one of the first, or the first, who had to jump over the hurdle; that the Ruhr occupation was unavoidable; and that he was simply a sacrifice, not necessarily the last one, which had to be offered for the sake of his country. To describe as simply "morbid vanity" Rathenau's expressed expectation that he sooner or later would be assassinated, underrates the tragic element of his fate.

Where I have to register dissent is in the last two chapters of Mr. Felix's otherwise valuable study. In the first of these, "Tendency to Acts of Violence," the author finds no pattern and tries to discredit the findings of E. J. Gumbel on rather flimsy evidence, while at the same time interpreting Helfferich and his political attitude and activities in too harmless a fashion. Helfferich was much too shrewd not to know what he was doing. Also, anybody who (like me) experienced the mass demonstrations on the occasion of Rathenau's assassination is aware that the workers too knew what the murder meant—that "the enemy stood on the Right" and that "the great tramping of boots and shoes and their heavy marching" was unfortunately the only way they could express their concern for democracy and freedom. Finally the attempt, in only two and a half pages, to "use the present day as starting point . . . and suggest Rathenau's importance in the Republic's life and death and in the world's progress from one great war to the next" (p. 175) is somewhat forced, tenuous, and inadequate. But the book can stand on its own merits, which are considerable, without its "conclusion."

ERIC C. KOLLMAN
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MARTIN VOGT, edited and with an introduction by. *Die Entstehung des Youngplans, dargestellt vom Reichsarchiv 1931–1933*. (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Number 15.) Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. 1970. Pp. 396. DM 30.

This book on the genesis of the Young Plan is entangled in the crooked history it seeks to put straight. It began as a rebuttal of the penultimate liar and greatest survivor of German modern times, Hjalmar Schacht, who was skillfully dissociating himself from the Young Plan. He was so successful, although he had been the leading German negotiator, that Hitler reinstalled him in office and then promoted him to a higher level of nefariousness. The rebuttal, in the form of a résumé of the government documents, was ordered by the Brüning cabinet in March 1931, completed in the beginning of 1933, and tactfully forgotten until recently.

Die Entstehung des Youngplans achieves its original purpose honestly. Indeed, the archivist editor, armed as he is with irrefutable documents, cannot quite avoid overkill despite his professional dispassion. Beyond that, the book, assisted by Vogt's fifty-eight-page introduction, is useful as a supplementary account of the later developments in reparations.

The character of the dispute and its wider implications derive from the inherent insolubility of the interwar problem of international indebtedness. The United States was demanding war debt payments without permitting the Allies to build up trade surpluses. The Allies, for their part, were protecting their economies by passing the burden on to Germany in the form of reparations. Germany, similarly inhibited in its foreign trade, had only fiction as defense. Without being called to order, Schacht could alternatively pose as the exponent of purity in economic policy and as an economic statesman authorized to overrule his chancellor on political issues. He had his opportunity because no German cabinet could bear the full responsibility for forcing a hopeless sacrifice upon the German people. The Müller cabinet, too unsteady to risk a confidence vote when it was formed in June 1928, hoped that Schacht would divert upon himself part of the disgrace for dealing with the Allies, but he redirected the disgrace back to the government. The depression, itself partially a product of the situation created by war debts and reparations, buried the Weimar Republic along with all such payments.

Use of the book must be accompanied by reference to other data. The researcher should read his own selection of the documents rather than trusting to the archivist's summaries, however conscientious. The Young Plan, furthermore, was an international bastard, and most of its origins are to be sought outside Germany. Besides the documents of the other governments concerned, the expressions of public opinion are important, while pointed economic statistics are needed to prick the swollen political nonsense.

DAVID FELIX
Bronx Community College, City University of New York

HANS GÜNTER HOCKERTS. *Die Sittlichkeitsprozesse gegen katholische Ordensangehörige und Priester, 1936/1937: Eine Studie zur nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftstechnik und zum Kirchenkampf*. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte bei der Katholischen Akademie in Bayern. Series B: Forschungen, Number 6.) Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag. 1971. Pp. xxv, 224. DM 35.

This monograph deals with the approximately 250 lawsuits initiated in 1936 and 1937 by the National Socialist regime against Catholic priests and lay brothers on charges of homosexuality. The proceedings were given all the publicity that Joseph Goebbels's propaganda machinery could bring to bear; they were and still are on that account widely dismissed as false and have been compared in style and content to the contemporaneous Moscow "show trials." The charges were in fact substantially true, particularly in the case of the lay brotherhoods. The problem is the more subtle one of the uses to which law may be put. Utilizing a wide variety of sources, including the oral and written testimony of participants in the legal processes, the author has produced a fine case study of justice in the National Socialist state and a valuable addition to the growing body of literature on the *Kirchenkampf*.

The motives behind the decision to prosecute religious congregations were in part a matter of National Socialist biopolitical quackery, especially Heinrich Himmler's obsession with racial cleanliness. More important considerations were Nazi impatience with the develop-

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ing stalemate in Church-state relations and a growing unwillingness to tolerate independent sources of authority. In using morals charges to discredit the Church in the eyes of the faithful the Nazis were prepared to take some very considerable risks, including the danger that the regime might itself be discredited at home and abroad. Traditional legal authorities and civil servants, attempting to cling to the pathetic shreds of the *Rechtsstaat* concept of objective apolitical neutrality, were caught and then compromised in what became a massive, systematic, and lurid propaganda campaign. All too typical was a statement of Justice Minister Franz Gürtner in 1937: "All material from the morals lawsuits is at the unconditional disposal of any party authority. How it shall be used is the concern of the Propaganda Ministry."

The propaganda campaign backfired and did not lead to an "inner crisis of loyalty" in the Church. Most Catholics on the contrary remained steadfast, and Church membership, which had been falling off in the Weimar Republic, actually increased. The test of 1936–37 also demonstrated just how much the hierarchy and faithful needed the support of each other if the Church were to be successful in its principal aim vis-à-vis the regime: preservation of its autonomy. Both the limits of National Socialist control as well as the strengths and limitations of Catholicism's resistance to the regime had thereby become quite plain.

THOMAS A. KNAPP
Loyola University, Chicago

JAMES DOUGLAS-HAMILTON. *Motive for a Mission: The Story behind Hess's Flight to Britain.* With a foreword by ALAN BULLOCK. [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1971. Pp. 290. $8.95.

J. BERNARD HUTTON. *Hess: The Man and His Mission.* Introduction by AIREY NEAVE. New York: Macmillan Company. 1971. Pp. xv, 262. $6.95.

Of these books dealing with one of the more bizarre incidents of World War II, only Douglas-Hamilton's needs to be taken seriously. The author is the second son of the duke of Hamilton, the man Rudolph Hess came to England to visit one Saturday evening in May 1941 during the height of the battle of Britain. Since childhood young Hamilton had been fascinated by the story and after graduating from Oxford set out to discover what had actually happened. The result is an impressive first book. As Alan Bullock, who helped guide the research, has noted in his foreword the study would have been of value even if it did little more than give the English side of the story and present documents made available by the duke of Hamilton.

There is, however, a great deal more. This is, in effect, a dual biography, for inquiry into Hess's motives inevitably led back to Albrecht Haushofer, son of the famous professor and Hess's personal adviser. Unwittingly he planted the idea in the Nazi's simple and fanatic mind that Hess could gain a separate peace with England by approaching Haushofer's English friend, the duke of Hamilton.

Albrecht Haushofer's life, pictured here for the first time with sensitivity and understanding, reveals one of the more tragic aspects of Hitler's Germany. Like many of his contemporaries, young Haushofer was torn by the conflicting demands of patriotism and humanity. He found himself, for mixed motives, serving on diplomatic missions for Ribbentrop and Hitler, while telling himself—as so many others had—that he could mitigate tyranny by working against the system from within. Distrusted and despised by both the Resistance and the Nazis he became his own most bitter critic and welcomed death at the hands of the Gestapo as escape from a life he felt to be hypocritical and base.

There are no major surprises in the chapters on Hess, but the author has given the first authoritative and richly detailed account of a story known previously only in outline form. Hess emerges as a devout Nazi of limited capacity whose loyalty to his Führer was canine. He hoped to recoup his own declining influence by fulfilling what he took to be his master's desire for a separate peace with England. Hitler had not known of Hess's flight, was appalled by it, and understandably discomforted by his own official explanation that his trusted deputy had been off his head for years.

The author draws on his father's papers for a valuable discussion of Britain's reaction to the Hess mission. Englishmen were bemused by his abysmal ignorance of their temperament and his puerile efforts at a separate peace. The government quite wisely decided that Britain

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could profit most from the incident by letting the Nazis stew in the juices of their own embarrassment. Hess could never understand why his frenetic demands to see the king and the prime minister remained unanswered. Winston Churchill received the startling news over after-dinner brandy and cigars that Hitler's personal deputy had arrived in England. In a latter-day version of Drake and his game of bowls, the great man observed, "Well, Hess or no Hess, I'm going to see the Marx Brothers."

Hutton's regrettable book contains a good chapter on Hess's trial and makes an effective plea for the release of the addled old prisoner of Spandau, but generally this is less history than it is second-rate thriller. The plot is thickened by invented incident and manufactured conversation. The author imagines, for example, that Hitler knew about Hess's flight all along and had plotted it with him. This assertion, like many others drawn from the rumor mills of the time and the not disinterested memories of Frau Ilsa Hess, is given without benefit of evidence, documentation, or bibliography. Mr. Hutton's book, however, is not lacking in an element of suspense: one keeps wondering how wrong he's going to be and why a distinguished house should wish to publish such a manuscript.

R. G. L. WAITE
Williams College

H. G. KOENIGSBERGER. *The Habsburgs and Europe, 1516–1660.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1971. Pp. xv, 304. $8.50.

PHILIPPE ERLANGER, with the assistance of ERIC NEWEKLOWSKY. *L'empereur insolite: Rodolphe II de Habsbourg (1552–1612).* Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1971. Pp. 262. 24 fr.

Readers who have referred to Koenigsberger's concise and judicious chapters on the Habsburgs in the volumes of the *New Cambridge Modern History* will find it helpful to have them collected under separate cover, along with his extended essay on the European civil war of the seventeenth century, reprinted from H. R. Trevor-Roper's *The Age of Expansion* (1968). The author skillfully synthesizes modern work on the dynastic and political events of the period, taking into account pressures from aristocratic estates and popular religious and social movements and culminating in the genuine crisis of societies and their political constitutions that resulted from the Thirty Years' War.

Although the author states that he wrote the three separate essays for a single work, the book is awkwardly organized and tends to neglect the Austrian Habsburgs in the first two parts, and the Spanish in the third. Inevitably the account of the far-flung activities of the dynasty merges into a retelling of the diplomatic history of two centuries. Though this is done with great selectivity and balance one misses the coherent sense of the *Casa d'Austria* itself, its inner sense of mission, more effectively portrayed in Wandruzka's *The House of Habsburg* (1956). Koenigsberger's work is useful rather than definitive. It lacks notes or bibliographic references, which may limit its utility to nonspecialists consulting what is otherwise a valuable and sophisticated introduction to the subject.

Erlanger's biography of Rudolf II, the work of a distinguished French literary craftsman who has done perceptive studies of Louis XIV, Richelieu, and other seventeenth-century figures, is a readable essay aimed at deciphering that monarch's enigmatic personality, though essentially directed toward a popular audience. As a popular biography it does not surpass Gertrud von Schwarzenfeld's 1961 account but may be of some interest because of the real dearth of any modern scholarly treatment. For particulars of the reign the serious student must still rely on the 1868 biography by Anton Gindely, and in some instances, on Ranke. Unlike the older works Erlanger's book devotes considerable space to Rudolf's artistic and scientific activities, though the Emperor's importance as a patron of modern science in supporting Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler is exaggerated. Erlanger's treatment of the role of Melchior Khlesl in the *Bruderzwist* is superficial. The book lacks footnotes and a bibliography.

ROGER WINES
Fordham University

GRETE KLINGENSTEIN. *Staatsverwaltung und kirchliche Autorität im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Problem der Zensur in der theresianischen Reform.* (Österreich Archiv. Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Österreichkunde.) Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. 1970. Pp. 234. Sch. 140.

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We tend to view censorship in terms of the struggle to mitigate it, but that perspective can do violence to the historical setting in which censorship systems have functioned. Grete Klingenstein, a promising Austrian scholar, here firmly implants the problem in its context, thus transforming the issue. In eighteenth-century Austria the critical question concerned control over censorship, not its existence. Censorship, then, was an aspect of Josephinism, and the nature of Josephinism provides the key to understanding its role.

Though erudite, Klingenstein does not provide just another specialized monograph. Blending a striking command of both archival and interpretive sources with a keenly developed historical consciousness, she offers an incisive view of eighteenth-century Austrian political and religious development. In treating Josephinism, for example, she recognizes the false dichotomy between *Staatskirchentum* and Reform Catholicism: Josephinism was both, and the balance between these elements resulted from changes within the Church as well as within the government. Klingenstein argues that the institutionalization of censorship, partially an anti-Jesuit campaign and partially a secularizing of ecclesiastical functions, generated increasing Church-state tensions. Thus *Staatskirchentum* and Reform Catholicism both combined and conflicted to produce more carefully defined structures and jurisdictions in Church and state. She does not entirely eschew the advantages of a modern perspective, however, for she indicates that the erosion of Van Swieten's influence after 1767 altered the character of censorship by making it utterly a decision of state, thus less liberal than that exercised by Van Swieten and the other "bourgeois intellectuals" (for example, Martini) who had initially formalized the censorship procedures.

Klingenstein's resolution of the puzzler, "How could the devout Maria Theresia approve policies inimical to the state?"—that the empress separated her religious concerns, which were ultimately private, from her monarchical concerns—seems simplistic in light of her emphasis on the complexities of the historical process. Furthermore, her discussion of Jansenism, particularly in connection with Van Swieten, is thin (she did not have available Frank Brechka's recent work on Maria Theresa's physician-adviser, *Gerard van Swieten and His world, 1700–1772* [1970]). But these are minor flaws in a work notably well done.

WILLIAM J. MCGILL
Alma College

FRIEDRICH PRINZ. *Prag und Wien 1848: Probleme der nationalen und sozialen Revolution im Spiegel der Wiener Ministerratsprotokolle.* (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, Number 21.) Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche. 1968. Pp. 180. DM 19.

This book delivers exactly what it promises in the title: a re-evaluation of the relations between the authorities in Prague and Vienna in 1848 based on the hitherto little-used protocols of the Vienna Council of Ministers. Since the protocols naturally offer only a one-sided image, the author has attached to his essay some twenty-five documents drawn mainly from the archives of the Austrian Ministry of Interior and the papers of Alexander Bach. The documents are highly relevant, as is the entire study. It is clear, precise, brief, persuasive, and without pretensions. It is in the best tradition of German political historiography. The point is to show why, in all of revolutionary Europe, the counterrevolution first triumphed in Prague. The author finds the reasons in the forceful personality of Prince Windischgrätz and in the conservatives' skillful exploitation of the clashes between liberal-democratic and nationalist ideologies and interests. These clashes allowed the return of the conservatives and postponed the Central European revolutions by three generations. Professor Prinz turns with equal indignation against historians of the old school, who had seen only the struggle of nationalities in 1848, and against the new, mainly Marxist historians, who see only the supranational class struggle. What these historians have generally neglected, and what the author energetically emphasizes, is the dominant conflict between centralist and federalist forces. While the liberal Vienna government, composed mainly of imperial bureaucrats, fought for Josephinian centralism, the new liberal Prague authority, coalescing around Count Leo Thun and František Palacký and composed mainly of Bohemian aristocrats and Czech *grands bourgeois,* wished to set up an autonomous Bohemia and thus re-

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turn to a pre-Maria Theresan state of affairs. Unfortunately for both governments, neither was able to cope with its domestic radical opposition. The military, which came to the aid of the embattled authorities in Prague in June and in Vienna in October 1848, replaced both liberal centralism and liberal federalism with reactionary neo-absolutism. The activities of Windischgrätz, Thun, Pillersdorf, Doblhoff, and Bach are clearly described; the court and the camarilla remain somewhat obscure. The Czech-Moravian-Silesian problem is masterfully explained; the Hungarian question—ultimately more important—was strangely neglected by the Vienna Council of Ministers and could have been enlarged upon by the otherwise most conscientious author.

ISTVAN DEAK
Columbia University

RONALD FLORENCE. *Fritz: The Story of a Political Assassin.* New York: Dial Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 337. $8.95.

The growth of antiwar sentiment in the United States during the Vietnam conflict lends an air of topicality to this biography of Dr. Friedrich (Fritz) Adler, the assassin of the Austrian prime minister, Count Karl Stürgkh, during World War I. Fritz was an intellectual and a radical, the son of the founder of the Austrian Social Democratic party, and a man more activist than his patient father. Stürgkh was the bureaucratic despot who guided Austria from parliamentary paralysis into dictatorial *fortwursteln,* unruffled by the outbreak of war.

Such initial enthusiasm for war as existed in the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy dissipated rapidly, but Stürgkh would not summon parliament into session. The "Imperial and Royal Social Democrats," writes Ronald Florence, were afraid of political repression and unwilling to harass the Stürgkh regime. Loyally, they waited for an end to the war. Fritz Adler, a doctor of physics despairing of the timidity of his father's associates, finally decided that a violent act was necessary. On October 21, 1916, in an act of revolutionary defiance he shot Stürgkh. Fritz turned his public trial into a forum for the indictment of Austria-Hungary and the war, but events passed him by, and the path of revolution was traveled by others. He died in 1960.

Using published and unpublished sources Florence has probed the intellectual and emotional life story of Friedrich Adler in search of the background and motives for the assassination. He weaves his narrative through a thin description of the last years of Austria-Hungary. The lack of footnotes presents a problem, especially when whole phrases from Robert Musil's *Man Without Qualities* keep turning up in some of the early chapters. The author has smooth prose of his own, however, and has researched his subject well. Despite occasional instances when enthusiasm has led Florence into an inaccurate observation *Fritz* is an interesting and thoughtful study.

GERALD R. KLEINFELD
Arizona State University

ERWIN BUCHER. *Die Geschichte des Sonderbundskrieges.* Zurich: Verlag Berichthaus. 1966. Pp. 595.

Bucher's massive book presents a detailed day-to-day account of the critical months in 1847 when a majority of Swiss cantons took up arms to prevent seven Catholic members, who had formed a special alliance (*Sonderbund*), from seceding from the confederation.

"The last of the Swiss civil wars" had its origins in the archaic and rigid structure of the confederation, which dated back to 1815 and had no built-in mechanism for change. The efforts of the liberals to modernize the make-up of Switzerland became increasingly bitter and violent as religious issues, foremost among them the activities of the Jesuits in Lucerne, began to poison the political conflict. The unyielding and at the same time provocative stance of the conservative Catholic cantons, united in their alliance, led the liberal leaders into actively preparing a military intervention.

War broke out late in October 1847 and came to an end barely a month later when Lucerne surrendered to the federal army. The commander of the federal troops, General William Henri Dufour, making superb use of his strategic advantages and material superiority, had devised a war plan that allowed him to defeat the enemy after a small number of skirmishes and a minimum of losses in human lives and property. His humanitarian and generous treatment of the defeated and occupied cantons led to a rapid healing of the wounds

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and prepared the ground for the reconciliation between the two parties. Within a year after the end of the war the country underwent the fundamental change that created modern Switzerland when it adopted the constitution of 1848, "the most fortunate and most significant deed" in Swiss history.

Bucher writes political and military history, concentrating on the debates of the delegates to the Federal Diet on the one hand and on the description of the campaigns and skirmishes on the other. The story is frequently interrupted by critical evaluation of the sources, and many documents are quoted at length in their German or French original. Except for Dufour, Ulrich Ochsenbein (president of the Diet and federal colonel), and Constantin Siegwart-Müller (leader of the *Sonderbund*), few personalities are treated in enough detail to achieve plasticity.

Bucher's interpretations and evaluations are well balanced and noncontroversial. The special value of his work lies in its depth of research, revealed not only in the text itself but also in the extensive bibliography. Bucher has made use of all available source materials and has written the definitive history of this important episode in Swiss history. Numerous illustrations, mainly photographs of leading personalities, enhance the appeal of this beautifully manufactured book.

HEINZ K. MEIER
Old Dominion University

ERICH GRUNER, with the collaboration of ANDREA BAECHTOLD *et al. Die schweizerische Bundesversammlung 1920–1968: L'Assemblée fédérale suisse 1920–1968*. Bern: Francke Verlag. 1970. Pp. 287; tables A–LL, 13 charts. 80 fr. S.

ERICH GRUNER, editor. *Die Schweiz seit 1945: Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte*. (Helvetia Politica, Series B, Volume 6.) Bern: Francke Verlag. 1971. Pp. 401. 28 fr. S.

Both of these books on the recent history of Switzerland were edited by Erich Gruner, who is in charge of the research center for history and sociology of Swiss politics at the University of Bern. They contain selections in German and in French and fill important lacunae in Swiss studies. The volume on the Swiss parliament since 1920 has each article in both languages, but the volume on Swiss development since 1945 contains no translations.

Die schweizerische Bundesversammlung 1920–1968, a much more formal study, treats a longer period of time and focuses on a single topic—the composition of the Swiss parliament. In it Professor Gruner and his four collaborators have produced a successful example of teamwork. They have deliberately avoided a multiple biography approach in favor of a statistical study that includes tables and graphs appended to the volume in a separate folder. The work reflects the current interest of European scholars in quantification as a technique. Modern in its methodology, the volume is also up to date in the kind of questions it asks. Various selections deal with the social origins of parliamentarians, their geographical origins, their level of education, and their professional achievements. In addition the matter of membership of these parliamentarians in student societies and other associations such as interest groups or lobbies is explored. Readers who accept the notion that a technocratic or politically professional elite dominates the parliamentary life of a technologically advanced nation may be startled by some of the results reported in this work.

The second book is quite different. In the winter of 1969–70 the *Volkshochschulen* of Zürich and Bern celebrated their fiftieth anniversary with a series of lectures on the theme of Swiss development since 1945. Seventeen authors collaborated on the project. Besides university professors, they included experts on various topics, as well as public figures. For example, Max Petitpierre, a former president of Switzerland, contributed a thorough examination of the complex problem of Swiss neutrality and its implications for foreign relations. Two major theologians, one Protestant and the other Catholic, discuss the role of religion in their country. In another vein, Hanspeter Matter, a Bernese lawyer and an author-performer of satirical songs, examines recent developments in Swiss society as seen by the younger generation. Other contributions deal with the whole gamut of contemporary concerns, including education, ecology, national defense, and economic questions.

The two books provide a well-integrated survey of present-day Switzerland. The quality of

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these useful and informative books appears to be in large part due to the skill of the editor, Erich Gruner, who provides a most thoughtful analysis of the directions of the societal problems in a period of rapid change in the final essay in the work on Switzerland since 1945. Both volumes should be of interest to those concerned with current problems of a small, highly developed, densely populated country with a truly multinational system. They will be useful to any student of modern Europe and are invaluable for the specialized student of modern Switzerland.

SABINE JESSNER
Indiana University—Purdue University, Indianapolis

BEAT GLAUS. *Die Nationale Front: Eine schweizer faschistische Bewegung, 1930–1940.* [Einsiedein:] Benziger Verlag. 1969. Pp. 503.

A number of authors have dispelled the popular myth that the bastions of Western European democracies were immune to the virus of fascism in the interwar era. Most were infected by the contagious malady but were able to ward it off, since it did not represent a significant political force.

The present study deals with a fascist movement in one of these countries—Switzerland. The author, a Swiss sociologist, has painstakingly perused the available literature, primarily the fascist press and pamphlets, and conducted a number of interviews with veterans of the period. The result is a detailed account of the rise and fall of the National Front, a movement spawned in 1930 at the University of Zurich, gaining bourgeois support primarily in the German area of Switzerland, and playing a vocal role in public affairs until its demise a decade later.

Glaus views the rise of the National Front, as well as the short-lived New Front (1930–33), which he also dissects thoroughly, as symptomatic of the malaise sweeping across Europe at that time. The democratic systems were on the defensive as they struggled with a major economic crisis and with the fissure dividing Marxists and the bourgeoisie. Switzerland was not spared the rash of competing fascist groups arising in its midst.

The failure of these groups to mobilize mass support speaks well for the democratic ethos of the Swiss polity. The National Front, with perhaps ten thousand members, generally did not receive more than two to three per cent electoral support, although it had pockets of strength in a number of conservative communities. Its fascist ideology, rallies, demonstrations, anti-Semitism, and pro-German stance did not endear it to important segments of Swiss society, especially the workers. It was beset by leadership struggles, factionalism, secessions, and the competition of powerful conservative movements. Thus it could not survive the outbreak of the war and the neutralist policy of the government.

This volume, based on the author's doctoral dissertation, has its weaknesses. Glaus, so immersed in his subject matter, fails to put the National Front into the wider perspective of the Swiss party system or European fascist movements. He fails to assess the impact of the Front on the Swiss body politic. He clogs the narrative with too many minutiae. But to the specialist on European fascist movements, the work represents a valuable addition to a topic of historical and contemporary significance.

GERARD BRAUNTHAL
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GIUSEPPE LO GIUDICE. *Comunità rurali della Sicilia moderna: Bronte (1747–1853).* Istituto di Storia Economica, Collana di studi e ricerche, Number 3.) Catania: Università degli Studi, Facoltà di Economia. 1969. Pp. 337. L. 4,000.

Bronte in Sicily is primarily identified by the English-speaking peoples as the dukedom and domain on the western slopes of Mount Etna that, along with a diamond-hilted sword once owned by his father, a grateful monarch of the Bourbon Sicilies (Ferdinand IV) pressed on a reluctant Horatio Nelson in October of 1799. The admiral, who had gained the endowment for his aid in reducing the French-sponsored Parthenopean Republic, estimated for hypothecation purposes Bronte's annual revenue at three thousand pounds sterling.

Economic historian Giuseppe Lo Giudice chooses to study Bronte's land system and cultivation in the years from 1747 to 1853 "to offer a suitable analysis of some important aspects of

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the island's agriculture and in particular of the pertinent changes that unfolded in its structure." It is a difficult subject, he confesses, but by investigating closely this farm and pasture district and by matching it with other districts, evidence may be assembled for meaningful new interpretations of Sicily's social, economic, and political history since the seventeenth century. The author did research at Bronte, Catania, Palermo, Florence, and in the Nelson archives; he displays numerous maps, charts, graphs, statistical tables, and a suitable bibliography. To aid the reader the old-fashioned terms of area, bulk, and coinage—from an age when news of winning numbers in the lottery still outdistanced reports of public events—are rendered into the metric system. What Lo Giudice concludes is that alodial or free property practically vanished and steady private usurpation of ancient communal rights discouraged growth and stifled initiative. The latifundia controlled by the nobility and especially by the new land-purchasing bourgeoisie increased, grain farming reduced grazing areas, mulberry trees yielded somewhat to garden vegetables, and the peasantry steadily became more miserable. The decade and a half from Nelson to the collapse of the liberal Sicilian constitution of 1812 allowed hope of serious land reform; this aborted, however, and small proprietorships never materialized. Pietro Burgarella, whose review of this book appeared in *Il Risorgimento in Sicilia* (6 [1970]: 224–25), hailed it as "a real contribution to knowledge of the economic and social life of the entire island." The undersigned concurs.

DUANE KOENIG
University of Miami, Coral Gables

HOWARD R. MARRARO, editor. *L'unificazione italiana vista dai diplomatici statunitensi.* Volume 4 *(1861–1866).* (Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca scientifica. Second Series: Fonti, Volume 62.) Rome: the Istituto. 1971. Pp. 411.

For over forty years the late Professor Marraro faithfully and successfully delved into Italo-American relations. A prolific pioneer in this field, he contributed to it many excellent studies, monographs, and editions of documents. Under the title above he published the diplomatic dispatches of the American envoys accredited to the court of the king of Sardinia, later of Italy, in Turin from 1838 on.

The present volume, the fourth, covers the period between 1861 and 1866, a perilous time for both the United States and Italy, when both countries were struggling to preserve their national unity against domestic strife and foreign intrigues. The dispatches, mostly from George P. Marsh, ambassador to Italy from 1861 to his death in 1882, reflect the concern of American diplomats in Europe: the unfriendly neutrality of the great powers, the dangers to American trade from Confederate privateers, and the questionable fidelity of many American agents to the Union.

Marsh felt remarkably free from most of these worries in his official post. Both people and government in Italy were unequivocally in favor or the Union, with the exception of a few clericals and reactionaries who were opposed to Italian unity as well. In contrast with the prejudices encountered in most European politicians, Marsh wrote of meeting several "Italian gentlemen, in and out of public life, who show a comprehension of our condition quite surprising in persons who never trod our soil" (p. 108). A comprehension, we may add, most likely due to a conscious or subconscious equation they must have made of the economical, social, and political differences between North and South in both countries—liberal equalitarian, industrial, better-educated masses in the North, in contrast with conservative, stratified, agricultural, unschooled masses in the South. This understanding through identification gave Marsh, too, a keen comprehension of Italian political temper, events, and prospects of the day. His analyses of the Roman question, the completion of Italian unification, and the widespread resentment at French tutelage of Italian life are remarkably sharp and clear.

The editorial lapses in this volume are few. One occurs on page 35 where Marsh writes of the "doubtful fidelity" of many "appointees of the late and Gen. Peirce [*sic*] administration," in obvious reference to the administrations of James Buchanan and Franklin Pierce. The editorial footnote on "Gen. Peirce" gives a biographical sketch of General Ebenezer Weaver

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Pierce instead of Franklin Pierce; President Pierce, too, had attained the rank of general during the Mexican War. Another lapse is the erroneous insertion of the word *sic* after spellings that were common a century ago and are still sanctioned in the latest editions of *Webster's International Dictionary:* amical, apprise, colours, commonalty, connexion, diplomate, enrolment, guaranties, kilogramme, and visaed. Needless to say, these are minor, negligible flaws, mentioned here only for the sake of completeness. We only hope that the next and, presumably, the last volume of the series will be edited as accurately as the first four.

JOSEPH ROSSI
University of Arizona

SERGIO I. MINERBI. *L'Italie et la Palestine, 1914–1920.* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 60.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 297. 50 fr.

Italy evinced no political interest in Palestine until 1916 when the prospect of dismembering the Turkish Empire raised appetites everywhere. Even so, Palestine always remained subsidiary to Asia Minor as a sphere of Italian ambitions in the Near East. Nevertheless, after World I Rome worked consciously for an Italian presence in Palestine. Italian policy to achieve this was muddled, settling belatedly on internationalization—just in time to be thwarted by British insistence on a Palestinian mandate. Italy inevitably had to consider Zionism, although distrusting it as "a pawn in the British game." The most interesting contacts were made by Commander Levi-Bianchini, whose biography Minerbi terms "a side-product" of his research. The Zionists, understandably, were not captivated by sophistical Italian overtures; nor were the Pan-Arabs who could not overlook the Libyan conquest. Italy's strongest card in Palestine was a claim to share in the administration of the Holy Places; in this she had Vatican support, although Minerbi suggests that it was less than others have maintained. But here, too, Italian hopes were frustrated, not by Britain but by France. All in all, Italy's role in Palestine was, perforce, marginal. Consequently, Minerbi sheds as much light on Allied disparagement of Italy, a cause of the "mutilated victory" syndrome, as on Palestine itself.

Minerbi's account is based on thorough research, principally among unpublished records of the Italian foreign ministry. He also employs material from the British Public Record Office, Zionist archives, and private papers including those of Levi-Bianchini. There are abundant historiographical footnotes and a good bibliographical essay marred only by a list of secondary works apparently not proofread; how else may one explain the citations D. Mac (*sic*) Smith and P. (*sic*) Chabod, and the dating of Frank Manuel's important article as 1938 (although given correctly in the text as 1955)?

Minerbi traces Italian policy toward aspects of the Palestinian issue in turn—Zionism, Pan-Arabism, the Holy Places, and so on. While not without intellectual validity, this organization involves backtracking and repetition and, more important, obscures the interplay between one factor and another. The continuity of argument suffers from too many one-sentence paragraphs. The book, in short, possesses the merits and demerits of most doctoral theses: solid research and sound information presented in somewhat indigestible form.

ALAN CASSELS
McMaster University

La Toscana nel regime fascista (1922–1939): Convegno di studi promosso dall'Unione Regionale delle Province Toscane, dalla Provincia di Firenze e dall'Istituto Storico per la Resistenza in Toscana, Firenze, Palazzo Riccardi, 23–24 maggio 1969. In two volumes. (Unione Regionale delle Province Toscane, Biblioteca di storia toscana moderna e contemporanea, Studi e documenti, Number 8.) Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 1971. Pp. xvi, 411; 416–787. L. 8,000 the set.

As Ernesto Ragionieri said in his closing remarks at this symposium on fascism in Tuscany held in May 1969 in Florence, Italian historians are beginning to be objective about fascism and are moving from a political to a historical judgment of it (2:476). The papers presented at this meeting and now made available in book form seem to support this. Partisan controversy is muted. The tone of both speakers and discussants, among whom were Stuart

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Woolf, Adrian Lyttelton, and Max Gallo, exhibits little political bias. What emerges is a thoughtful and thought-provoking analysis of many aspects of fascism studied at the regional, rather than the national, level. With few exceptions, historians of Italian fascism have tended to look at it from a much broader perspective. Yet much may be learned from a close analysis of local developments. In this instance Tuscany was chosen for a number of reasons, primarily because, like Emilia, it played a key role during the important years 1919–22. In May 1922, for example, twenty per cent of all *fasci* and eighteen per cent of all fascists in Italy were concentrated in Tuscany.

As in any collection the contributions are of different caliber and scope. Some, like Giogio Luti's overview of Florentine periodical literature, Mario G. Rossi's analysis of the Church's position, and Carlo Francovich's profile of militant Tuscan antifascists, indeed limit themselves to illustrating fascism in Tuscany. Others, like Giorgio Mori's informed study of industrial developments in this region and Emilio Sereni's somewhat polemical discussion of Arrigo Serpieri's views on agriculture and *mezzadria,* tend to embrace Italy as a whole.

Two points emerge from a careful reading of these two volumes: that, despite the spate of books and articles on fascism that have emerged in the last twenty-five years, much still remains to be done; that now the most rewarding approach may very well be to study fascism in its local manifestations. While the shortcomings of such a type of investigation are well illustrated in some of the contributions to these volumes, the value of studies focusing on local or regional developments is also clearly shown by the total impact of the various papers. Taken together they represent an informative addition to the historiography of fascism.

EMILIANA P. NOETHER
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HARRY FORNARI. *Mussolini's Gadfly: Roberto Farinacci.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1971. Pp. xiv, 237. $8.95.

There is general agreement among students of modern Italian history that fascism failed to achieve the totalitarian control of the state envisaged by some of its leaders. What is less well known, especially among the English-reading world, is that within the Fascist party itself Mussolini's authority was not always, if ever, completely total. Among those who challenged it successfully on occasion and who, even when forced formally to submit to the Duce, ever remained refractory was Roberto Farinacci, Fascist "boss" of Cremona, self-appointed custodian of a "pure" Fascist faith, and proponent of an ever-continuing totalitarian revolution. Mussolini's reputation for violence is based more on his rhetoric than on his personal acts; Farinacci was violent in words and deeds; and if such a combination be essential to fascism, the author is justified in calling the hierarch of Cremona the "archetypal Fascist."

That Farinacci was Mussolini's veritable gadfly for more than two decades is proved superabundantly by Fornari in a work based mainly on a wealth of archival and other primary sources. From this mass of material, well digested and clearly presented, there emerges a Farinacci more Fascist than the Duce, the most violent of the *squadristi,* and perhaps the chief protagonist of a totalitarian dictatorship. But with the regime well entrenched by 1926—in large part because of Farinacci's activities—and aspiring to respectability at home and abroad, there was less use for the goader who preached incessantly for more vigilance and violence. Hence Farinacci's relegation to his provincial fiefdom of Cremona where he could play the role of Duce on a reduced scale, but forever importuning Mussolini to proceed with a permanent revolution, to be answered by peremptory orders to behave alternating with affectionate letters of gentle persuasion.

All this is presented with exceptional clarity by the author, whose pioneer work suffers from one significant defect: in his account of the general background to the actions of his protagonist, Fornari relies excessively on two works, Luigi Salvatorelli and Giovanni Mira, *Storia d'Italia nel periodo fascista* (1964), and Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista* (1966–68). This criticism notwithstanding, Fornari's work may well serve as a model for future studies on other Fascist chieftains, such as Italo Balbo and Dino Grandi, whose autonomous power in their respective fiefdoms was one of the many

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checks on Mussolini's allegedly absolute personal dictatorship.

SALVATORE SALADINO
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LEO VALIANI *et al. Azionisti, cattolici e comunisti nella Resistenza.* (Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione in Italia.) [Milan:] Franco Angeli Editore. 1971. Pp. 449. L. 6,000.

This informative book is the product of a conference held in Milan in November 1968 under the auspices of the Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione in Italia. Earlier conferences had dealt with methods of studying the Italian Resistance and its historiography. The 1968 conclave focused on the theme of the political parties in the Resistance. The authors of the essays have illuminated numerous hitherto somewhat obscure aspects of the internal development of three of the five parties that made up the Committee of National Liberation (CLN) and played an important role in Italy's Armed Resistance of 1943–45. These three currents were the newly formed Action party (Partito d'Azione), intransigently republican and liberal-socialist in its orientation; the renascent Catholic party (Democrazia Cristiana), successor to the defunct Italian Popular party that had emerged after World War I; and the greatly revitalized Partito Comunista Italiano, about to become the strongest Marxist force in Western Europe. The other two parties in the CLN were the Socialists, whose strength lay chiefly in the cities, and the Liberals, whose appeal was greatest in the south and who were the most conservative and monarchist-minded political force in opposition to fascism. It is regrettable that the planners of the conference did not include discussions of these parties as well.

The contributors to this volume were members of the parties listed respectively above. Moreover, they are professional historians. As such, they have generally tried to look back on the period with as much detachment as can be reasonably expected of "engaged" scholars after the passage of a quarter of a century. Although all the essays make contributions to our knowledge of the subject, that of Leo Valiani, who was northern secretary of the Action party during the war, is the most satisfactory. He is the eldest and most versatile writer of the three. His essay emphasizes that the story of the origins of the Action party was also the story of the politicization of a large number of Italian intellectuals under fascism. The party had an important antecedent in the "Giustizia e Libertà" movement founded by Carlo Rosselli in 1929. Even more influential was the "Liberalsocialismo" movement founded by Guido Calogero a decade later, for it represented antifascism of a new style—one that side-stepped the problem of the Concordat and that broke ranks with Benedetto Croce in its willingness to advocate some degree of socialism. Indeed, nationalization was to be the issue that aroused most debate within the Action party after its birth in 1942. Valiani gives much credit to Ugo LaMalfa, the party's leader in Rome, for preserving a flexible stance on this issue. Valiani also has much to say on the party's opposition to the House of Savoy, as well as its sharp criticism of the about face of Palmiro Togliatti, who in March 1944 led the Communist party into Marshal Badoglio's government for the purpose not only of gaining prestige for the party but of promoting national unity. Though the Action party continued to play a role in the Armed Resistance that was second only to that of the Communists, internecine strife and inability to attract lasting support from working-class groups brought about its quick collapse as soon as the war came to an end.

Gianfranco Bianchi, a professor at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan, does not write as persuasively as Valiani, but he sets forth considerable useful information regarding the various currents that coalesced into the Christian Democratic party.

Ernesto Ragionieri, youngest of the contributors, was still in his teens at the time of the Armed Resistance. Now a professor of history at the University of Florence and a specialist on Marxian socialism, he is editing the collected works of Palmiro Togliatti. He is also a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party and responsible for its review, *Critica marxista.* As might be expected, Ragionieri contends that the Communist party was a *partito nuovo* and the prime advocate of national unity in the Resistance. He strongly defends Togliatti's twists and turns.

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The book is handsomely printed and contains a helpful index of everyone mentioned.

CHARLES F. DELZELL
Vanderbilt University

F. ROY WILLIS. *Italy Chooses Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 373, $8.50.

Professor Willis has written a first-rate volume on Italy's integration into the West European economic and political community. The author has wisely divided the book into two parts. The first ("The Process of Choice") is a lucid chronological review of early Italian ideas on European unity, Italy's postwar problems, alternative prescriptions, and the decisions to adhere to the Marshall Plan, NATO, WEU, and the European Communities. It is capped by a compelling evaluation of the results of the integration process. The topically organized second part ("The Choice Determined") explores the many internal factors that shaped the substance and consequences of those decisions. Here the writer skillfully relates such problems as Italian industrial and agricultural conditions, overpopulation, unemployment, migration, and the south to both the larger integration issue and the perspectives and goals of Italy's principal pressure groups and political parties.

This format permits Willis to achieve an enviable breadth of scope, though at the inevitable price of occasional redundancy. There is a great wealth of both primary and secondary documentation, but the inclusion of a larger portion of the statistical data in table form might have enhanced the book's readability. Also, by grouping most of his conclusions at the end of each part rather than in a final summary chapter, the author conforms to his stated objective of rendering each complete in itself but at the cost of disjunction. Nevertheless, Willis's convincing style and his meticulous concern for tightly organized chapters more than offset these structural deficiencies.

According to Willis there was a powerful and continuous interaction between the process of joining Europe and the ongoing domestic political struggle in Italy, one that mainly concerned the issue of economic and social reform. As he correctly points out, the creation of a reformist-oriented Center-Left coalition in Italy owes much to the incontestable achievements of integration. Although the goals of the former have not been met entirely, Europeanism has ceased to be a political issue.

While Willis might have speculated further on the several unresolved economic and social questions he raises and refrained from unfairly castigating the Nenni Socialists for delaying internal reforms, the book must certainly rank as one of the really thorough and competent studies on contemporary Italy. As such, it will undoubtedly appeal to European generalists and Italian specialists alike.

WILLIAM R. FEENEY
Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

CONSTANTINE CAVARNOS. *Modern Greek Thought: Three Essays Dealing with Philosophy, Critique of Science, and Views of Man's Nature and Destiny*. Belmont, Mass.: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies. 1969. Pp. vii, 10–115. Cloth $3.50, paper $1.95.

The author of this brief history of modern Greek thought, Constantine Cavarnos, is a distinguished philosopher-scholar, who traveled and studied in Greece and who published reviews, articles, and books covering a wide spectrum of Greek religious art, life, and thought. In the present volume, which introduces the reader to Greek thought from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present, Professor Cavarnos describes the philosophy of modern Greece (pp. 9–38), the role of the positive sciences in solving the problems of man (pp. 39–56), and the modern Greek view of man's nature and destiny (pp. 57–85). The book ends with seven pages of notes (pp. 87–93), thirteen pages of a selected bibliography of philosophical works (pp. 95–107), and two indexes—one of names (pp. 109–12) and one of subjects (pp. 113–15).

Chapter 1 begins with an analysis of the nine characteristics of modern Greek philosophy: existential orientation, personalism, idealism, primacy of philosophy over science, primacy of Christian teaching over philosophy, Christian eclecticism, relation to ancient Greek philosophy, independence from medieval Western philosophy, and independence of the phi-

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losophies of the Middle and Far East. These sections, which could fill nine volumes, provide a valuable study of the relation of modern Greek philosophy to Byzantine, ancient, Western, and Oriental philosophy. Chapters 2 and 3 synthesize the attitudes of the Greek intellectuals to the value of the positive sciences and the nature and destiny of man.

The unique quality of modern Greek intellectual life is that in contradistinction to the West, which has divorced philosophy from religion, Greek thinkers have kept both and have allowed their Orthodox faith to guide philosophical inquiry. Professor Cavarnos makes this clear when he asserts that "modern Greek philosophy can best be understood as a continuation of Byzantine philosophy in modern times."

Although there was a continuous cultural life during the Ottoman occupation, it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the Greek Renaissance reached its apex in the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment, which preceded the Greek War of Independence. This period witnessed an outburst of scholarship, education, intellectual inquiry, and professional philosophy. In this regard Eugenios Voulgaris (1716–1806), a notable intellectual figure and the "father of modern Greek philosophy," and Athanasios Psalidas (1767–1829), one of the foremost intellectuals of the Greek Enlightenment, were trained outside of Greece and transmitted the new spirit of rational inquiry, secularism, and the scientific method to their students. Voulgaris, in the tradition of Leibniz and Wolff, believed that truth could be attained by the scientific experimental method, but this did not prevent him from preaching that ideas are innate because of divine revelation. Psalidas likewise adhered to rationalistic doctrines; yet in his book on *True Happiness or the Basis of All Religion* (1791), he defends effectively the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, reparation after death, and human freedom.

Despite its brevity and at times somewhat challenging assertions, this book is not only thought-provoking but should become a fundamental part of present and future research on modern Greek thought.

WILLIAM PETER KALDIS
Ohio University

VLADIMIR DEDIJER. *The Battle Stalin Lost: Memoirs of Yugoslavia, 1948–1953*. New York: Viking Press. 1971. Pp. x, 341. $8.50.

Since the Yugoslav expulsion from the Cominform on June 28, 1948, millions of words and countless numbers of articles and books have flowed from presses round the world. In spite of all the verbiage, however, the story of the celebrated Tito-Stalin feud has remained incomplete. Dedijer's new volume helps to close at least a few of the gaps.

The Battle Stalin Lost is a warm, moving, and captivating drama, in which the playwright is also one of the leading actors—to paraphrase a characterization from the brightly colored book jacket. It is as much a chapter from the life of Vladimir Dedijer as it is an account of the Russo-Yugoslav struggle of 1948–53. The life of the author, as revealed in the pages of this fascinating volume, has been one of both tragedy and triumph. He lost his first wife on a Partisan battlefield and a son to suicide. As a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party (YCP) he rose to the ranks of the elite and was entrusted with important posts in the party and the party-controlled state, including that of director of information, which he held at the time of the war of nerves that he so graphically describes.

In his narrative of the memorable conflict between Tito and Stalin, Dedijer points the accusing finger at the Soviet party boss. He feels that the leading role played by Russia in World War II went to Stalin's head and led him to formulate an ambitious plan in which all of Eastern Europe was to be brought under the Soviet yoke. Yugoslavia occupied a special place in those plans, and Stalin anticipated an easy victory. Once Yugoslavia was subdued, it would not be difficult to bring the other Eastern European countries under the hegemony of Moscow.

After a bit of preliminary shadowboxing Stalin launched his open attack on Yugoslavia with the Cominform resolution of expulsion. Out of his bottomless bag of tricks the Soviet leader pulled a number that he was certain would not miss. Included among those were "silent strangulation" through direct pressure, provocation of conflict within the Central Committee of the YCP; ideological excommunication of the YCP; public anathema through

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the Cominform; an all-out economic blockade; and infiltration of the key positions in the Yugoslav army, security forces, YCP itself, and major ministries.

Though the odds were stacked against her, deserted as she was by the communist states and parties everywhere, Yugoslavia did not capitulate. Her success Dedijer attributes partially to the regional defense pacts and international assistance, especially the economic and military aid provided by the United States, England, and France; but "the decisive factor," he says, "was the unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the readiness of the Yugoslav army." However important all of those forces might have been in saving Tito's homeland, the critical observer of the international scene cannot help but call attention to the remarkable recovery of Western Europe and the possibility of the escalation of the local conflict into another global war as influences on Stalin's decision not to attack Yugoslavia.

Although Dedijer's effort is a distinct contribution to the fund of knowledge regarding this historic controversy, it must be noted that it is based solely on Yugoslav evidence, since Soviet sources remain inaccessible. The author incorporated a great variety of primary and secondary materials into his work. His use of diaries, memoirs, interviews, government reports, and archival materials lends considerable authenticity to the volume, but the absence of footnotes and bibliography often leave the curious reader hanging.

GERALD GILBERT GOVORCHIN
University of Miami, Coral Gables

VLADIMÍR V. KUSÍN. *The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring: The Development of Reformist Ideas in Czechoslovakia 1956–1967.* (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. v, 153. $8.95.

IVAN SVITÁK. *The Czechoslovak Experiment: 1968–1969.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1971. Pp. 243. $10.95.

In contemporary Czech and Slovak thought the events of 1968 have acquired the status of a turning point comparable in importance with the Communist takeover of 1948, the dismemberment of the first Czechoslovak Republic in 1938, and, indeed, the foundation of the state itself in 1918. On August 20–21, 1968, literally overnight the Czechoslovak experiment was transformed from living reality into history, and some of its makers became its historians. As a collection of articles, speeches, and statements composed before August 1968 Ivan Sviták's book is a document in the intellectual history of the period; the part written after August attempts to explain what happened. Vladimír V. Kusín, like Sviták, lived in Czechoslovakia throughout the period he describes and interprets and, like Sviták, is one of the protagonists of his own narrative.

Kusín argues that there has existed "incongruence" between communism and the Czech "national disposition," which includes, he writes, national, democratic, and "heretically socialist" values. According to Kusín the takeover of 1948 and the introduction of the Stalinist system destroyed democratic political structures in Czechoslovakia but failed to eradicate those less tangible but nonetheless real elements of political life, such as traditions, national character, and personal and public attitudes. The Twentieth Soviet Party Congress (1956) provided a stimulus for the reassertion of the national tradition in a new environment. Kusín reviews the gradual emancipation from Stalinism that took place after 1956 among the jurists, philosophers, writers, literary scholars, and historians.

When it became evident, in the early 1960s, that the Czechoslovak economy was in serious trouble, the party was forced to emancipate the economists. The "rehabilitation" of sociology (a discipline suppressed under Stalin) and the birth of political science soon followed. Before long, fundamental questions of national purpose and existence were debated, in accord with the tradition established by the earlier generations. When Karel Kosík analyzed "The Czech Question" in a series of articles on "Our Present Crisis"—thus reviving the titles of two famous books written seventy years earlier by T. G. Masaryk—it seemed that the broken link with the past had been restored. In effect two programs for change emerged in Czechoslovakia. One, the subject of Kusín's book, was the broad intellectual movement seeking a synthesis of socialism, democracy, and European cultural tradition. (Kusín views Stalinism as a

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product of Russian tradition and to him the Czech reform signified a move away from Russia and back to Europe.) The other was the more limited trend within the party itself. With the elevation of Dubcek to party leadership in January 1968 these two trends merged into a single movement aimed toward a new model of socialism.

Kusín is lucid and well informed, but he idealizes the reformers and their predecessors. His treatment of the Communist problem in prewar Czechoslovakia and the Slovak question in general is rather superficial. He never considers the possible inner flaws or weaknesses in the Czech political "disposition."

Sviták, taking a broader view of the Czech experiment, sees in it a challenge not only to Soviet supremacy in East Europe but also to the Russian position in the multinational Soviet Union, which he compares with the tsarist empire. The suppression of the Czechoslovak experiment, he says, will further aggravate the nationality question in the USSR. And yet, though he is so disillusioned with the Soviet policies, Sviták asks if the intervention could have been avoided. He wonders if the reform movement should not have been more concerned with power and more moderate and self-restrained in its proposals for internal change. Citing the cases of Finland, Romania, and Yugoslavia he also asks if the intervention might have been prevented had the Czechoslovaks been ready to defend themselves. Ruling out "armed struggle against the aggressor was fatally wrong . . . what are armies for, if not to fight when their country is attacked by an enemy?"

The question of resistance brings us back to the Czech political tradition. The spiritual and moral character of the pre-August movement reminded Kusín of the "moral sincerity and genuineness" in the outlook of T. G. Masaryk. But this is a rather one-sided view of the founder of Czechoslovakia. Masaryk's decision in 1914 to organize armed struggle against Austria from abroad was fully consistent with his previous career and with his teaching that evil should be resisted with force. When Masaryk and his legions returned to an independent Czechoslovakia it seemed that his activism (if not "adventurism") was vindicated as an element of the Czechoslovak political tradition. Subsequent events in 1938 and in 1948 did not conform with the Masaryk style of political action. The reader of Kusín and Sviták may wonder whether the Masaryk of 1914 or the Beneš of 1938 was closer to the Czechoslovak leaders in 1968. It is impossible to imagine a form of political protest more at variance with the moral precepts and personal example of Masaryk than the suicide of Jan Palach in 1969.

ROMAN SZPORLUK
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

RICHARD PIPES. *Struve: Liberal on the Left, 1870–1905*. (Russian Research Center Studies, Number 64.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 415. $10.00.

With the exception of the Bolsheviks, the pre-1917 generation of Russian leaders has been cheated of historical recognition and evaluation; the efforts of emigré and Western scholars have hardly been able to offset the Soviet scorn. Professor Pipes's two-volume biography of Peter Struve, one of the greatest Russian intellectuals of that period, is therefore all the more welcome.

Drawing the dividing line at the point of Struve's return to Russia in the wake of the October Manifesto, the first volume (the second, one gathers, is well charted) covers Struve's intellectual pilgrimage as a publicist, scholar, and political thinker from the vague liberal patriotism of a precocious and largely German-educated youngster to Marxism and hence to radical liberalism. Professor Pipes has taken great pains to reconstruct the details of Struve's personality, his style of life and work, and above all his thought, faithfully plowing through the complex and abstract arguments—so exciting at the time and so musty and dated now—by which Struve established his reputation. He has done so with admirable command of the relevant schools of philosophy as well as of the shifting ties and alliances among the revolutionary intelligentsia. As an act of scholarly loyalty to a great Russian liberal, written in an eminently knowledgeable style with an occasional touch of iconoclasm, this volume is highly successful. There is available now to Western scholars a statement, as precise as they will ever get, of Struve's contin-

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uously evolving thought, with page after page of direct quotation in readable translation with appropriate commentary—all based on the most thorough compilation of Struve's writing (listed in the bibliography).

From a methodological point of view the volume represents the self-consciously nominalist (or positivist) scholarship so prevalent in Russian studies. Its attention is brilliantly focused on the documentable foreground. Yet for that very reason it lacks depth; it does not cover with similar perception the various backgrounds that complete the historical portrait. Backgrounds intrude, but in the blurred form of generalizations that smack of one-sidedness or bias. Marx's attitude toward a separate path for Russia, for instance, would seem to be more hesitant and complex than one gathers from the author's account (pp. 46–47). Did, furthermore, in the perspective of a hundred years the course of Soviet development follow the pattern predicted by Chuprov and Vorontsov or rather that of the Social Democrats (p. 43)? In the Russian setting of those times—viewed in totality and not from the Struve perspective—did Lenin's offhand remark that Struve "ought to be killed," justify the author's stricture, in a quotation from Santayana, that Lenin had forgotten his vision of a better society (p. 279)? The four-page introduction to the chapter on "The Philosophy and Politics of Liberalism" likewise seems too facile; it does not, incidentally, do justice to Bernard Pares.

Why, above all, should the present generation of students and scholars be content with viewing Russian reality through the eyes of Struve? If proof were still needed, this volume supplies it: the Russian intelligentsia, even in as alert and learned a thinker as Struve, had very little sense of the problems confronting the men in charge of governing the Russian Empire in a competitive world order. The Russian intelligentsia lived in fragile, forever redesigned glass houses of illusions derived from Western European experience—a fact that a strictly nominalist approach will not catch. Should we not first realistically assess the condition of the Russian Empire before proceeding to sort out the factual minutiae?

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NEAR EAST

GEORGE M. HADDAD. *Revolutions and Military Rule in the Middle East.* Volume 2, *The Arab States.* Part 1, *Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan.* New York: Robert Speller and Sons. 1971. Pp. 587. $12.50.

This is the second of a three-volume series by Professor Haddad on this subject. Volume 1, *The Northern Tier,* gives a general background of the role of the military in the Middle East throughout history and then deals in detail with Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. A planned volume 3 will cover Egypt, the Sudan, Yemen, and Libya.

This volume begins with a general background chapter in which the author brings out several important facts often forgotten or overlooked. Of particular importance is his explanation that since Jordan and Iraq were British creations and continued their strong ties with London after World War II they were constantly at odds with their Arab neighbors. While never forgiving the British and French for fragmenting geographical Syria, the foes of the Hashemite monarchy (especially Egypt) could not bring themselves to allow any realistic union of the Fertile Crescent states because they believed it would have been Hashemite and British-dominated. Also, Syrian leaders feared that they would lose their positions.

Haddad brings out the long history of alliances between the politicians and the military in nearly all Arab countries, except the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Of interest is the fact the first modern Arab state to become independent (Iraq in 1932) was the first in which the army officers entered into politics and carried out a coup (1936). The author makes a comparison of conditions in Iraq under the royal regime in 1958 and after nearly five years of Kassem's rule. By the time Kassem was overthrown in 1963 the country was more disunited, economically stagnant, diplomatically isolated, and more authoritarian than under the monarchy. Since then under Ba'thist rule little has changed. There have been nine coups since the 1958 revolution, with each coup leader accusing his predecessor of tyranny but none daring to establish democratic rule where the people could have a voice.

In his treatment of Syria, which he knows

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thoroughly, Professor Haddad emphasizes the fact that Syria's political instability stems in large part from its geographical location, which has made it an arena for contending Arab nationalist forces. This situation was further complicated by Nasser and other Arab nationalists portraying the Syrian leadership as the enemy of reform. It is the author's contention that the common ideas—that since Syria is a mosaic of nationalities and religions it lacks national unity—is wrong. He stresses that the country's ethnic minorities are too dispersed and too small to cause disunity. He rightly points out that since the Ba'thist takeover in 1963 sectarianism, especially Alawite and Druze, has become more intense. An important point that Haddad brings out is that army officers in the Arab states did not participate in the struggle for independence in the period between the two world wars. Of particular note is that the Syrian army did not form a cast by itself and that army intervention in civilian affairs in large part was brought on by civilian politicians seeking the support of army officers. Many coups reflected the struggle for power between contending military factions supported by civilian personalities and parties or by other Arab states.

Lebanon's army, on the other hand, has played the role of guardian of the constitution. It was the determining factor in the ouster in 1952 of President Khouri, who misruled the country. The army forestalled an unpopular second term for President Chamoun by refusing to give him backing in the Civil War in 1958. The Commanding General, Chehab, then succeeded Chamoun not by a coup but by vote of a parliament whose majority had been favorable to Chamoun.

The turbulent Jordanian monarchy has long been supported by its army. Buffeted by outside influences, particularly Nasserism, Jordan has had its share of army conspiracies, but the Hashemite dynasty has managed to survive, largely because of its strong ties to the Bedouin tribes whose members compose the backbone of the army. The regime's victory over the fedayeen in 1970–71 was due almost entirely to the army's loyalty and its antagonism toward the radical Palestinians.

Professor Haddad, former chairman of the department of history at the Syrian University in Damascus, was an on-the-scene observer during Syria's most turbulent era, and he gives a number of valuable insights into that period. His sympathies lie with those Arab leaders who fought for their country's independence. He gives them greater benefit of doubt than may be their due. It is my belief that they failed to meet the test of their time. That is certainly not to say that their military successors in Syria and Iraq have done better; they have failed miserably. Certainly neither country is better off for all the repression and killings that these military leaders have brought with their coups. The author has utilized a wide span of sources. However, in my opinion, a number of statements extracted from these sources are inaccurate, and many are hearsay.

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AFRICA

Colonialism in Africa, 1870–1960. Volume 2, *The History and Politics of Colonialism, 1914–1960,* edited by L. H. GANN and PETER DUIGNAN; Volume 3, *Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule,* edited by VICTOR TURNER. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970; 1971. Pp. x, 563; viii, 455. $17.50 each.

With these volumes we find an ambitious publishing enterprise at midstream; *Colonialism in Africa* will eventually run to five volumes. The first two deal with history and politics (1870–1914 and 1914–60), the third with social change throughout the colonial period. The fourth is to treat economic development, and the last will be a guide to documentation. At this juncture, in reviewing volumes 2 and 3, we are afforded the opportunity of comparing the perspectives of authors of varied backgrounds, although predominantly from the disciplines of history and anthropology. Each of the twenty-six contributors has his own understanding of colonialism and the colonial experience, and the editors, Lewis Gann and Peter Duignan in one case and Victor Turner in the other, acknowledge that general conclusions cannot be drawn from these collections.

While there are some stimulating syntheses and a few polemics all too many contributions are complacent summaries of dated materials and interpretations, and too few exemplify the

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liveliness of contemporary scholarship about the colonial epoch. Victor Turner in his introduction to the social change volume reflects disappointment at the disarray of his volume and makes some stimulating remarks about history and anthropology as distinct disciplines in need of exchanging insights and data. His contributors are almost without exception eminent names in their fields, but they lack the appreciation of many younger anthropologists that the use of historical documents may afford valuable insights not available through oral data or static models. Historians will be disappointed, too, with the continued vagueness of citation; we are more often referred to other anthropological works than to the empirical sources.

Whereas Victor Turner obviously regrets the conventional methodology and the particularistic effect of his volume, it is to a degree inevitable, he suggests, that anthropologists would take the part of local societies, which are often at odds in their priorities and sensibilities with the central institutions of the state. Gann and Duignan, who are the editors of volume 2 and also the general editors of the series, have as their focus the center. History and politics from 1914 to 1960 is presented in terms of administration and constitutional development, elite formation, and institutionalization of colonial premises. Colonialism, as mediated through the central organs of government and guaranteeing a certain order and dominance in social, economic, and political terms, begs for definition and for a more dynamic approach to historical processes than this volume affords. The editors have a manifest political commitment to view colonialism and white societies as culturally heroic in goading, coaxing, and engineering Africa toward modernity. This commitment assumes the dimensions of counterinsurgency. The very succession of the volumes, from history and politics to social change and economics, seems to be calculated to forestall rival syntheses. The record of colonizers and the experience of the colonized, it is implied, may be understood without economic and social analysis.

Elite formation and the institutionalization of colonial premises are topics treated in both volumes. Elites in Africa have an especially ambiguous history, growing up as they did relatively alienated from indigenous cultures and frequently rejected, on racial grounds, by the European community. The raised and dashed expectations of the *évolué* group in the Congo is Roger Anstey's main theme, which he treats with the guiding assumptions that European policy alone determined the fortunes of these aspirants.

Two chapters in the second volume make useful and stimulating general statements about elites. Martin Kilson distinguishes the upper echelon from the subelites, drawing mainly upon West African examples, with Ghana as the archetype. Immanuel Wallerstein, a political sociologist, is unique less for his fine and original synthesis on changes in social structure than for the fact that he alone of the authors in either volume has read and absorbed recent historical writing. The issue is not merely one of perspective. Neglect of this literature by others means that they do not benefit from the range of new sources that have been consulted in the preparation of many recent historical works.

Elite formation is one indicator of the institutionalization of colonial premises and class differentiation in the colonial context. Other ways of approaching social structure are also represented. Michael Banton describes the patterns of occupational discrimination and race correlations in urban South Africa, while Hilda Kuper points out the variations in color perception among the Swazi. The Swazi, she argues, did not originally see white and black in oppositional terms. The closer the person to Western culture and patterns of thought, the greater the tendency to racist thinking, both reactive and submissive. A third position is taken by Max Gluckman, who in a very personal essay relates and elaborates his theory of social interdependence in Southern Africa where, in his view, the values of the dominant minority are so internalized by the majority that radical action becomes virtually impossible. Whether or not one agrees with Gluckman, he has been an important contributor to the literature of Central and Southern Africa for some four decades. He is now busy defending and to a lesser extent moderating his views, and it is valuable to have such an explicit statement of conviction.

Something has already been said about the

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stance of Gann and Duignan. They contribute extensively to volume 2, with an introduction, a chapter on the white elite of Rhodesia, and an epilogue. Students of colonial Africa will find much stimulation and incitement in these pieces. Nowhere is the attack upon African political talent so blatant as in the opening paragraph of the introduction, where in the guise of summarizing the period from 1885 to 1914, the editors condemn blacks as political incompetents. Clearly Africa was partitioned and claimed by European powers, but a more suggestive and objective thesis would consider as contributing factors the economic invasions of the immediate precolonial period and the technical insufficiency, to use Yves Personn's phrase, rather than the political inability of Africans. We need to raise questions of politics in the light of such economic penetration and postcolonial perpetuation before evaluating the importance of the colonial experience in the total history of Africa. In their epilogue, Gann and Duignan point out a seeming difference of opinion between Jacob Ajayi, the African scholar who summed up the period to 1914 in volume 1, and Adu Boahan, who carries out a similar commission in volume 2. Whereas Ajayi saw colonialism as but an interlude in African history, Boahan emphasizes its importance. Adu Boahan's tempered but critical comments cannot be taken, however, as condoning the preoccupation of many chapters with the colonialists, and he deserves to be carefully read, preferably as an introduction rather than conclusion.

An example of a polemic from the Left is to be found in volume 3, where Aidan Southall sets out to show that old cities in Africa were undermined by imperialism. His thesis is illustrated by examples from early Portuguese contact with Kongo and Monomotapa, by some cities of Yorubaland, and by certain cities of North Africa in the premodern period. Southall has done fine work in rural and urban anthropology in Uganda, and the modern portions of his chapter are not so questionable, but in general his sweeping statement that "western imperialism had a negative and destructive impact upon many of those lines of development in African society that could have led towards the foundation of urban living properly rooted in African culture" serves emotions more than scholarship. The interpretation of Kongo takes us no further than the work of Georges Balandier and does not benefit from the valuable critique of that work by Jan Vansina. The treatment of Monomotapa is based upon an altogether false association of the Great Zimbabwe with the dynasty that became puppets of the Portuguese. The Monomotapas had moved northward to the Zambezi in the century before Portuguese contact, and the history of Zimbabwe in the time of the Changamire Dynasty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was only indirectly affected by the Portuguese. Fuller reference to archeological, architectural, ethnohistorical, and sociological data will make possible the kind of discussion that early urban history deserves. Meanwhile we are warned by the failures of this essay that on the basis of presently completed research, the topic does not lend itself to the demonstration of African-imperial confrontations.

A reviewer of such a varied collection is bound to dwell upon its shortcomings and striking demonstrations of commitment. Some very valuable and solid synthetic essays must also be mentioned in brief. They include James Duffy's beautifully composed review of Portuguese Africa, 1930–60, and Crawford Young's summary of (political) decolonization. An interesting contrast exists between C. G. Baeta's positive attitude toward missionary and humanitarian interests, 1914 to 1960 (vol. 2) and F. D. Welbourn's sharp attack upon missionaries as colonial collaborators (vol. 3). Readers will find rewards, according to their special interests, throughout the social change volume and each will react to the case studies on land, education, chiefship, or modern local party leadership according to his own needs and background.

Colonialism in Africa will certainly become a standard library reference series, but it falls short of being a classic in the sense of achieving balanced proportions. Classic syntheses will not be reached in the study of the colonial period in Africa as long as the major themes are too closely tied to alien dominance and research adheres to narrow understandings.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

A. I. CHEREPANOV. *Severnyi pokhod Natsional'no-revoliutsionnoi armii Kitaia (Zapiski voennogo sovetnika)* [The March to the North of the National Revolutionary Army of China (Notes of a Military Adviser)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 303.

This book, the second volume of General Cherepanov's memoirs, is one among a number of solid reflections on China in the 1920s that have been published in the Soviet Union in the last decade. Cherepanov himself implies (p. 298) that the Stalinist strait jacket no longer need be worn by people who write on China, and the book as a whole is good evidence of this change.

It deals in firsthand and secondhand accounts with the progress of the Northern Expedition until shortly after the coup of Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai in 1927, when the author, who had been a military adviser to the National Revolutionary Army, sailed home to Russia, wondering with his comrades what they had wrought in so ably building up the military arm of the Kuomintang. Apart from its value as military history it should be noted that the book carries on the posthumous rehabilitation of M. M. Borodin (at the expense, of course, of J. V. Stalin). Unlike Stalin, Cherepanov does not pretend to be a great political theoretician (his favorite word for the events he is trying to describe is "complicated"); but the fact that he was an eyewitness in China gives his interpretation great appeal, all the more so because many Comintern agents were lost in the purges of the 1930s.

In this respect the memoir of Cherepanov does much in contributing faces and feelings to that group of Bolsheviks who were, in their way, going out to save China quite as much as any American missionary. I suppose that its greatest value in the Soviet Union is its revival of that sense of "Leninist internationalism" so profoundly felt by these Russians. Today it may be of incidental regret that the mission in China miscarried (although the Russians can take heart that the Methodist and capitalist sides of Chiang Kai-shek have also been rather disillusioning); the more important reflection is that the effort was made, that the Soviet Union gave more encouragement to the Chinese revolution than any other foreign power.

It should be noted, finally, that some of the Soviet works on China of this period have been translated into English and make fascinating reading for anyone wishing to compare the Russian involvement in China with our own. An informal translation of this book has already been done at Columbia University.

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JAMES CHIEH HSIUNG. *Ideology and Practice: The Evolution of Chinese Communism.* New York: Praeger Publishers. 1970. Pp. viii, 359. $11.00.

JOHN WILSON LEWIS, editor. *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China.* (Contemporary China Institute Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 422. Cloth $9.50, paper $2.95.

FRANK H. TRAGER and WILLIAM HENDERSON, editors. *Communist China, 1949–1969: A Twenty-Year Appraisal.* [New York:] New York University Press for the American-Asian Educational Exchange. 1970. Pp. xii, 356. $7.95.

The ascendency of communism in China, aside from disturbing the placidity of many minds, has given rise to the curious exercise of what is commonly called "China-watching," invariably from a distance. While the "China-watchers" presumably watch the same object, what emerges from their perceptions seems to vary greatly both in general pattern and in minute detail. Two principal factors have been responsible for this baffling phenomenon. On the one hand, the isolation of China for close to two decades has rendered an intelligent reading of the breathtakingly fast pace of change in China exceedingly difficult, for even carefully considered opinions have often been overtaken by the unfolding of new events. On the other, American response to a China in the throes of revolutionary frenzy has rarely been free from some form of emotionalism that tends to make a "watcher" see what he chooses to see.

The passage of time, however, has provided a clearer picture of the salient features of China in the Maoist phase. It has also had a sobering effect on those who saw in the emergence of the New China either the beginning of

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the Communist millennium or immanent doom. The dramatic turn of events since mid-1971 has, among other things, opened the doors of China a crack, through which a steady trickle of Americans, admittedly selected, has gone in and out. Thus the exercise of "China-watching" is now complemented by "China-witnessing," which promises to bring the field of Chinese studies to a more sophisticated level.

Except for the recency of their publication (all three appeared in 1970) these books represent major different approaches to the study of China and Chinese affairs since 1949—a single author dealing with the crucial matter of ideology and practice, tracing the evolution of Chinese communism; a group of eleven scholars writing monographs for a conference in 1968 on various aspects of the equally crucial problem of Communist party leadership and mutations of power; and fifteen scholars and experts seeking to sum up their findings on a wide range of major subjects concerning China in the two decades of Communist rule.

In Professor James Hsiung's delightfully readable treatment of what is essentially the Maoist ideology and practice one sees the happy combination of political science expertise and an admirable degree of historical insight. Though divided into three parts, nearly half of the volume is devoted to the highlighting of major events since 1949, leading to the remaking of the party in the wake of the Cultural Revolution. His is a dispassionate examination of the key factor of ideology and the inner workings of political practice in consonance with that ideology. Through his analysis the tortuous path of zigs and zags along which China under Mao advanced and retreated has been traced and clarified. Historians will be most interested in the first two parts, dealing with historical and ideological perspectives respectively. Here Hsiung has subjected some of the earlier and more thought-provoking works in intellectual history and political sociology to closer scrutiny and has come up with ideas and observations that have the virtue of placing modern China against a balanced perspective. In other words he has succeeded in identifying the unique historical experiences of China in modern times without losing sight of either her long traditional legacy or the impact upon her of such alien ideologies as Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the very baffling events since the early 1950s through the Great Leap leading up to the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath can now be better understood, while Mao, the central figure, has emerged as neither a prophet nor a demon.

The work *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China* grew out of collective labor under the sponsorship of the Contemporary China Institute in London. The eleven monographs are selected from the papers presented at a conference in 1968. Obviously a good deal of discussion must have gone on at this conference, presumably resulting in some consensus with respect to the general themes of this publication. Edited by Professor John W. Lewis, the book is divided into four parts, with three chapters in each of the first three parts and two in the fourth. The major problems investigated include the changing role of the Communist party, the power elite in theory and practice, party and Chinese society since 1949, and the new view of power in the Cultural Revolution. The topics cover a rather wide range spanning chronologically from the introduction of Marxism in China to the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution and topically from broad theoretical inquiries into legitimacy and the concept of power to specific institutional and operational analyses. One outstanding feature of this volume seems to be the unity within diversity. Each contributor has developed his thesis on his chosen aspect of the larger problem of leadership and power, and yet there is a thematic thread, as expressed in the title, that ties everything neatly together. This perhaps is partly attributable to the success of the conference format of joint scholarly endeavor but certainly to the rare ability of its editor, who provides a well reasoned and eloquently presented synthesis in the form of an introduction. Indeed, thanks to this group's efforts, those in the contemporary Chinese studies field are now "better prepared to grasp the full implications of how the Chinese Communist Party came into being in the first place and how Communist leadership and revolutionary power will develop in the future."

Communist China, 1949–1969, as its title indicates, is a twenty-year appraisal. Beginning with a historical overview under the chapter heading of "Communist China in the Light of

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Chinese History," the ten chapters that follow deal with ideology, administration and control, party politics, the military, economy, agriculture, education, literature and art, the intellectuals, and the national minorities. The last three chapters discuss China and the Communist world, China's approach to the outside world, and United States–China relations. Each represents the considered opinion and judgment of a scholar whose competence is recognized by the editors, and each contribution stands by itself. In the absence of both an introduction and a conclusion one is inclined to believe that all thirteen chapters serve to provide the necessary background for the final one, which is essentially a policy position paper on United States–China relations. Although the editors are not primarily identified with the China field, most of the contributors are known for their sustained interest in the special subjects on which they write—Yuan-li Wu on economy, C. T. Hsia on literature, and Theodore Chen on education, to mention a few. There is a wealth of information and factual data, which may prove particularly useful to nonspecialists. Professor Rupen's chapter on the national minorities is perhaps the only comprehensive study on a long-neglected aspect of contemporary Chinese affairs.

The chapters dealing with the historical background, the ideology of Mao, the role of the army, and party politics form interesting parallels to parts of the Hsiung and Lewis volumes. They testify not only to the wide divergence of views regarding China but also to the variety of theoretical and methodological approaches adopted. As for the appraisal of the Communist record, the overall impression one receives from the Trager and Henderson volume is largely negative. It suggests that the ideological "baggage," the vast population, the sociopolitical instability, and the arbitrariness of party rule combine to pose insurmountable problems to the Communist leadership, which itself is suffering from acute disunity. Somewhat paradoxically the editors warn us: "Communist China today is not yet strong enough to challenge the world. But Peking does have the capacity to endanger the world with ruin."

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DAVID BERGAMINI. *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy.* New York: William Morrow and Company. 1971. Pp. xxxviii, 1239. $14.95.

A Chinese general once told David Bergamini that "Japan was governed by an unworthy emperor who hoped to conquer the world." Resurrecting wartime passions and fanning embers of the Tokyo trials, *Imperial Conspiracy* might gratify that general. It is fitting that Sir William Webb, the Australian chief justice of the international military tribunal, provides an introduction. Bergamini's thesis, simply put, implies that high policy subverted justice by saving the emperor from trial as a major war criminal. "Hirohito," the author insists, "was a formidable war leader: tireless, dedicated, meticulous, clever, and patient. He had inherited from his great-grandfather a mission . . . to rid Asia of white men." The emperor "had not only led his nation into war by stamping military orders but, through his coterie, had also intimidated those who opposed him by conniving in bizarre Oriental intrigues, including religious frauds, blackmails, and assassinations." A Byzantine vocabulary stresses cabals, plots, and brotherhoods; 1,100 pages of text and 125 pages of notes and bibliography exude the smell of smoke.

First, to identify the author of this "strange" and "ugly" story (the adjectives are his): Bergamini was born in Tokyo and brought to China at the age of eight; he spent 1941–45 in a Japanese prison camp in the Philippines and afterwards attended Dartmouth, won a Rhodes scholarship, and joined Time, Inc. He has written a novel and books on Australia, the universe, and mathematics. Having "learned how to speak Japanese again, still badly, and for the first time how to read it—slowly," he returned to Japan in 1965. In Kyoto he enlisted an M.A. candidate and "an army of research assistants." The exposé was written in America.

How did scholars miss Bergamini's "disclosures" for decades? First, a "heavy halo of taboo" protects the throne. Second, perplexed by language and culture, foreigners miss things not called to their attention. Third, the emperor, courtiers, and army counterintelligence obfuscated or destroyed the record when doom approached. Bergamini admits reliance on circumstantial evidence in part; "in most parts of the Orient," he avers unconvincingly, "the idea

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of a public record does not exist." He disdains gray economics and demography, savors genealogy and black-or-white biography. Many informants are privileged, supposedly because danger "still exists for those who speak too freely in modern Japan." Bergamini nevertheless maintains that he has "invented nothing but . . . put together much."

Spasmodically organized and crammed with gossip, the book plunges into the era of Sato and Mishima, far beyond the prospectus. The countless nicknames are unnecessary and vulgar; for example, "Peerless Pimp" Tatekawa and "Mad Dog" Cho. The text abounds with non-negotiable errors. In one segment on which I am an expert (Changkufeng, pp. 691–96), twenty-one factual mistakes appeared. Numerous references sampled throughout the book were erroneous, and the otherwise excellent and up-to-date bibliography contains considerable padding. It is surprising that the declassification of General MacArthur's histories eluded the author.

Most upsetting is the selective, misleading use of sources to buttress a tortured thesis wherein accidents are inconceivable, honest mistakes improbable. The object is to incriminate the emperor personally in every crime and aggression, from long before the rape of Nanking, by the technique Charles Elliott calls "the flypaper gambit." A particularly flagrant instance derives from the *Sugiyama* [Gen] *Memoranda* (Tokyo, 1967), incorrectly characterized as the general's own daybook jottings. This source, Bergamini claims, revealed that about a year before Pearl Harbor the emperor "personally ordered" Onishi to conduct "a secret evaluation . . . of the feasibility of a surprise attack." The ungrammatical original mentions Admirals Yamamoto and Onishi but not the emperor and not an imperial order. Bergamini, however, consulted a translator of the *Tale of Genji* who "states flatly that the expression . . . is absolutely unambiguous in this context and means 'the Emperor ordered.'" This forced interpretation misunderstands the chain of command. The emperor would not send personal orders to Onishi, a junior rear admiral, down the ladder. Navy sources confirm it was Yamamoto who in January 1941 dispatched a very private communication (*shiteki shokan*) to Onishi. The flypaper does not smudge the emperor but, having deduced a "major historical revelation," Bergamini erects upon it an edifice of imperial culpability and prevarication. Was it not Alice who stamped her foot three times and made it so?

For each source called upon to indict the emperor's cruel power, another could have been invoked to depict the circumscribed monarch's mildness and lifelong devotion to constitutionality. He could act to stop the war in 1945, the emperor has said, only because Prime Minister Suzuki formally requested his opinion. The only other time the emperor acted in his own right was during the 1936 mutiny, when he feared the premier was dead. The monarch freely admits that things occurred about which "I really do not know personally."

The author thinks he has uncovered a vast scoop; Morrow should have known better. Still, it would be wrong to suspect a hoax; Bergamini, I am convinced, believes fanatically in his theory. Nor is crowd-pleasing popularization at issue; what distresses is that the author did not aspire more modestly. Endowed with energy, imagination, and time, he has collected immense amounts of detail. Presented objectively, without overstatement, they might have convinced us that the emperor was better informed, more industrious, and more influential than believed. Instead, Bergamini has brewed a concoction that is extremely disturbing, but not for the reasons intended.

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J. P. SHARMA. *Republics in Ancient India: C. 1500 B.C.–500 B.C.* With a foreword by A. L. BASHAM. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1968. Pp. xvi, 278. 51 gls.

In the wake of a strong nationalist movement in India K. P. Jayaswal wrote his *magnum opus, Hindu Polity* (1924), in which he emphasized the importance of republics in ancient Indian history, implicitly arguing thereby that the Indian people, as in their past history, were capable of ruling themselves democratically without the British imperial tutelage. Several monographs with variations on Jayaswal's theme have been written since 1924 by eminent scholars such as D. R. Bhandarkar, R. C. Majumdar, B. K. Sarkar, A. S. Altekar, and U. N.

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Ghosal. All these authors, however, treated the subject of republican institutions as a subdivision of their main study of the political institutions in ancient India. Dr. J. P. Sharma in his book mainly concerns himself with the study of northeastern republics that existed in the age of the Buddha. Fortunately, Dr. Sharma has no "nationalist" axe to grind, as was the case with the previous authors dealing with republics in ancient India.

By thoroughly examining the terms, such as *sabhā, samiti,* and *vidatha,* having political connotations, Dr. Sharma sees the origin of Indian republics in the Vedic age. He conceives of four types of republics. Although monarchy was the usual form of government in the Vedic period, Dr. Sharma attempts to construe *sabhā* and *samiti* as *de facto* political communities, occasionally acting independently of a monarch and at other times having an effective voice in the decision making of a monarch. While convincingly refuting the view of Professor R. S. Sharma that *vidatha* was the earliest folk assembly, the author appropriately states that it was merely a local congregation convened for religious activities.

Having discussed the Vedic origin of Indian republics, the author examines in detail the northeastern republican tribes such as the Licchavis of Vesali, the Videhas, the Sakyas, Nayas, Mallas, and Koliyas. Each of the republics is described in terms of their name and etymology, geographical location, origin, forms of government, and so forth. The author gives the Licchavis and Indo-aryan origin, deriving their etymology from the Sanskrit word *Ṛkṣa,* meaning bear. The migratory routes of the Licchavis, before they settled down in Vesali, have been outlined. In dealing with the Videhas the author objects to the generally held view that the king Ajātasattu was born of the Kosalan princes. However, in the Pali text itself, of which the author seems to be unaware, the king Pasenadi of Kosala acknowledges Ajātasattu as his sister's son. In the absence of any evidence whatsoever I must take objection to Dr. Sharma's rather otiose suggestion that "the Licchavis seized Videha from some weak king after Janaka without much conflict and established a republic on the ruins of the old monarchy" (p. 149). Despite the overwhelming textual evidence that the Sakyas were the tributaries of Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, Dr. Sharma, disagreeing with it, says that they were independent political communities during Kosalan's regime. On page 92 of his book the author makes a sweeping statement that "there is no clear evidence of true totemism anywhere in the whole Vedic and Buddhist literature," while on page 220, contradicting his own statement, the author says that the Moriyas "looked on the peacock as their totem."

Dr. Sharma's book at its best is a useful and detailed collation of available materials on the republics at the time of the Buddha. However, he is a bit overzealous in sharply criticizing the views of the other scholars (see pages 6, 9, 11, 14, 81, 102, 119); some of his own suggestions, too, based as they are on the same insufficient and fragmentary evidence used by the other scholars, are wide open for different interpretations. Certainly a final word as to the nature of republican institutions in ancient India has yet to be written; Dr. Sharma's book has made us aware of the difficulties inherent in studying them during the period from ca. 1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.

N. K. WAGLE
University of Toronto

STEPHEN P. COHEN. *The Indian Army: Its Contribution to the Development of a Nation.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. x, 216. $7.50.

Professor Cohen emphasizes in his introduction that this book is not a history of the Indian military. It is "a study of the development of a modern army in South Asia, and its relationship to its own political and social environment." Historical data are employed from a perspective "informed by contemporary theories of military organization and nation-building." Fair enough; but for many historians Cohen's distinctions about what is and is not history are perhaps too subtle. This is clearly not a conventional military history, but it is just as clearly an exceptionally fine piece of historical scholarship. In its discussion of the army's role as an instrument of British power and its new role as the military arm of a secular democratic state, this book makes a major contribution to the South Asia literature. The contribution is twofold: it provides for the first time a consideration over time of the changing

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social character of the army; second, and perhaps more important, it clearly spells out the relationships between the military and politics in South Asia and thereby acts as a corrective to much modern political history, which has seriously failed to account for the important influences of the army in the subcontinent. (If the book helps lay to rest the myth that the idea of nonviolence has been the dominant operating factor in modern Indian politics, its contribution will be even more profound.)

The author organizes his ideas around several basic themes, but he emphasizes the changing perceptions of the character and role of the army in the British Indian period and in the new India. For me, five of the seven chapters in this concise volume are especially revealing. Chapter 2 on recruitment and ideology examines the organizational integrity of the British Indian army, the development of an able officer corps and an effective army of soldiers, and the idea of the "martial races" that bound the army into a loyal and committed whole. Chapter 4 touches all too briefly on defense problems and the nationalist movement, defining precisely the points at which personalities and ideologies in the recent nationalist period responded to the military. The reactions of Tilak, Subhas Chandra Bose, Gandhi, and Nehru and the impact of these reactions on subsequent attitudes and policies require more than the twenty-six pages Cohen has given us; they require another book. But this is true of most of the chapters in this volume and it indicates the richness and importance of Professor Cohen's work. My informal check list of research problems suggested in these pages has a dozen notations.

Taken together, chapters 5, 6, and 7, dealing with the professional officer, World War II, and the army after independence, provide the book's major statement on the training and quality of the growing number of Indian officers before and during the war, their significance as a leadership pool during and after the war, and their function as a force for national integration in the years of independence.

This integrative role of the army derives from two sources. First, since 1962 the Indian army has doubled in size and has perforce become more egalitarian, reflecting thereby the democratic sentiments of India's political leadership (though the army also continues to recruit from those classes, castes, and regions on which it has traditionally drawn, a procedure Cohen aptly identifies as the "secular theory of the martial races"). The second factor contributing to the integrative role of the military is its function in free India as the nation's defender against external enemies. The shock of the 1962 China war contributed drastically to this new Indian conception of its army, and it is fair to say that the success of the army in the 1971 December war against Pakistan is for India the culmination of this process. Military might has become for India a symbol of nationhood, a perception that Mrs. Gandhi articulated in specific terms vis-à-vis the United States and the Soviet Union following the December war.

The creation of Bangla Desh and the restructuring of power relationships in South Asia which that event has effected involve the military in a profound way. Something of the extent and nature of the impact of India's involvement has been suggested. For Pakistan the consequences for the military and for the nation must be even deeper. Professor Cohen's excellent book helps us understand some of these new circumstances. For an explanation of others we await his further scholarship.

WALTER HAUSER
University of Virginia

AMERICAS

PAUL A. ROSSI and DAVID C. HUNT. *The Art of the Old West: From the Collection of the Gilcrease Institute*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1971. Pp. 335. $30.00.

This lavishly illustrated volume was envisioned as a descriptive social commentary that "would offer the reader a broad spectrum of activities concerning the development of the Old West." The themes around which the paintings, sketches, and sculptures are clustered are obvious ones: the wilderness, Indians of the Plains, life on the Missouri, trappers and traders, troopers, the cowboy, and others. Even so, the artists themselves dominate the book. While the illustrations were selected primarily for their value as a historical record rather than for esthetic reasons, most of the artists included here saw the West through European

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eyes and training. The result is a near-legendary golden West. The authors feel that since the majority of those "who documented life on the American frontier at whatever time and for whatever purpose, perpetuated a romance . . . ," the artists were therefore being "realistic" by painting in a romantic vein those subjects that interested the public most. They have a point, for the paintings reveal a recurrent theme of violence in the form of Indian warfare, cowboys and guns, and the slaughter of wild game.

Beyond this the paintings prove to be limited social documents, for although the authors analyze weapons, clothing, saddles, and other items described in the more accurate illustrations, there are almost no paintings of Indian society (Catlin's are the great exception), frontier family life, railroading, towns, and women, omissions that the authors themselves lament. Ironically the twentieth-century paintings of Indians by Woodrow Crumbo and of the Old West by W. R. Leigh, a Gilcrease favorite, add the qualities of nostalgia and sentiment to that of romance.

Many of the selections from the five thousand works of art housed in the impressive Gilcrease Institute collection at Tulsa are by such well-known artists as Catlin, Bodmer, Miller, Bierstadt, Remington, Russell, and Seltzer. Of the sixty artists included at least two who are relatively unknown stand out as valuable rediscoveries. The first, Charles Bécard de Granville, was a seventeenth-century French-Canadian cartographer whose unique sketches of animals anticipate some of Audubon's humorous drawings, while Granville's renditions of people demonstrate a primitive style that almost seems to reflect the influence of Indian skin drawings. The second, William de la Montagne Cary of Tappan, New York, toured and painted the nineteenth-century West for the fun of it. Nevertheless his sketches capture a more sober and mundane West of sleeping roustabouts on riverboats, Mormon haymakers, a lonely campsite, towns, and ordinary people.

Rossi and Hunt have tried to place the illustrations in context by providing a running narrative of Western history in each section. But the artists' emphases on Indian warfare, buffalo, cowboys, and dramatic events force the narrative to be lopsided and often superficial. Still the authors never lose sight of the fact that the "painter's West" was neither the real nor complete West but rather "as much a state of mind as Boston." They also explicitly reject the Turner frontier hypothesis in their account, although the revelation that the artist has romanticized wilderness and frontier America for four centuries tells us much about the profound impact of Rousseau and romanticism on European and American culture, and even helps explain the origin and perennial success of the Turner thesis itself.

Less complete in terms of biographical information than Robert Taft's *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850–1900* (1953) and less focused than Pauline A. Pinckney's fine *Painting in Texas in the Nineteenth Century* (1967), this volume is a valuable addition to the growing list of good art books concerned with the Western scene. Except for the fact that the pictures of sculptures did not reproduce well on slick paper the book is a visual feast, and the Gilcrease Institute deserves every praise for publishing such a representative cross-section of their rich holdings.

HOWARD R. LAMAR
Yale University

BEN B. SELIGMAN. *The Potentates: Business and Businessmen in American History*. (Two Centuries of American Life: A Bicentennial History.) Reprint; New York: Dial Press. 1971. Pp. 402. $3.95.

Whether or not the bicentennial celebration of the nation's independence pulls itself together and "comes to earth I know not where," it has already stimulated publishers and authors. One such response plans a bicentennial series of thirty volumes on a topical basis and here presents Mr. Seligman's history of American business and businessmen. His primary strategy has been to assemble a roster of approximately 525 businessmen and to divide into four time periods their "antics" and those of the governments with which they worked and which they corruptly controlled. The lines between these eras are not sharply drawn, for history is a "seamless web" (p. 4). The first era extends from colonial days to the Civil War; the last three periods extend from Reconstruction to the present day. This organization inevitably caters to *ad hominem* analysis and to anecdotal history. Perhaps without design, it enables the

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last chapter, on the period since World War I, to differ somewhat from those that have gone before. The rhetoric becomes less relentless, and, if I understand a generally opaque style, "managerial interest appeared to focus on maximizing size rather than profit" (pp. 329–30). Perhaps the change in tone is due to a reliance on a different bibliography. Hitherto, though reluctant to be a muckraker, Seligman apparently based his analysis upon Gustavus Myers, Henry D. Lloyd, and Matthew Josephson. More recently, as a labor-union bureaucrat, he seems to have come in contact with more sophisticated sources, like *Fortune,* the *Wall Street Journal,* and John Kenneth Galbraith.

Be that as it may, Seligman's preface states his fundamental convictions: "Business cannot survive without profit. . . . The search for profit is axiomatic." Though the author has argued the matter with friends he still stubbornly believes that "America is predominantly an acquisitive society" (p. 4). At no time does he define "profits" or show any appreciation as to how variously they operate within our culture. To him profit is greed, it is self-interest. "Wealth was equated to virtue" (p. 66). Profits were the more censurable because they "came easy" and were usually "enormous" or "handsome." Finally, save the mark, he writes, without a touch of humor, a man "could pick a fortune from the branches of trees" (p. 115).

For one thing, to take a concrete example, the presence and practice of business philanthropy challenges this framework. The author resorts to the stereotype that philanthropy was a penance for a guilty conscience. When he comes to a subtle case like Carnegie his explanation is an awful mixture of twisted chronology and omits relevant considerations. Above all he pays no attention to what businessmen or their captive journalists and politicians said, for they were all hypocrites and deceivers. Much better to fall back upon the language of the demagogues. By and large the traction interest was dominated by financial syndicates who "for twenty-five years behaved like fabled vampires living on human blood" (p. 158), or when workers died in Guggenheim's enterprises, "the Moloch of capital accumulation demanded their sacrifice" (p. 193).

Inflexible in its determination to make a case at all costs, enmeshed in clichés and contradictions, omitting or treating shallowly whole areas of business experience, more at ease in the rhetoric and ideology of yellow journalism than with the thinking and moderation of scholarship, this book lacks the urbanity, the insights, or the balanced judgment to cope with its complicated subject. It is a work of little merit.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND
Thetford, Vermont

VIRGINIUS DABNEY. *Virginia: The New Dominion.* Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1971. Pp. xvi, 629. $12.50.

In the tradition of Douglas Southall Freeman and David J. Mays, Virginius Dabney belongs to a sizable group of Virginians who combine an interest in the past with active participation in the present, to whom the study of history is an avocation, and to whom historical perspectives are natural, important, and assumed to be within the consciousness of others. As editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* for thirty-three years, Mr. Dabney has been a close observer of the Virginia scene over the past four decades and a serious student of the state's history. In this book these interests and skills have merged, and it is important to the appreciation of the work to understand both Mr. Dabney's involvement in recent events and his scholarly interest in the Old Dominion's long past. So ingrained are historical perspectives in his patterns of thought that Mr. Dabney changes in this work almost imperceptibly from a narrator of the historical record to an observer of the contemporary scene. But this transition takes place as the narrative approaches the present, and assessments and evaluations become more common in relation to recent developments.

Mr. Dabney has aimed at providing a comprehensive survey of Virginia history, but the emphasis remains on traditional political history. There are important departures to introduce economic, social, cultural, and intellectual developments, and the author has made a conscious effort to avoid neglecting the role and contributions of blacks in Virginia history. But the account is basically political, and it is mainly chronological. Governorships, whether colonial or contemporary, provide the principal organizational framework. The narrative is factual, informative, and, while sympathetic, is

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not a glorification of the Virginia past. The author clearly takes pride in his Virginia heritage, but he makes evident the deficiencies in that past, describes the backwardness of the state in the post–Civil War decades and the early twentieth century, and reports false turns in recent years.

In view of the great disparities in historical literature about Virginia, Mr. Dabney, who largely relies on secondary accounts except for the recent period, has produced a remarkably well-balanced survey with respect to chronological coverage. Historians have extensively examined colonial Virginia and the Civil War in Virginia, but they have given much less attention to other periods, especially the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Mr. Dabney compresses Virginia's 169-year colonial experience into about 150 pages; his Civil War survey moves from Manassas to Appomattox in fifty pages; two hundred pages are devoted to the period since Reconstruction. In this last segment of the work the author has combined reliable scholarly studies with his own knowledge of the immediate past to provide a fresh summary. On the other hand, for the colonial period, though the accomplishment of synthesis and summation is commendable, the interpretations of leading historians are cited in an eclectic way, and there is no sustained interpretive evaluation of the colonial experience. Richard Morton's two-volume study of *Colonial Virginia* (1960) will be preferred by scholars interested in that early period. The coverage of the years since Reconstruction provides the most useful portion of the book, and Dabney is at his best writing about the period that he has observed at first hand. He is basically a political reporter and analyst, and the recent coverage is almost entirely focused on state politics and issues. Here he adds his editorial judgments and assessments.

Mr. Dabney has chosen the subtitle "The New Dominion" to display his conviction that "in almost every area—political, racial, educational, industrial, and cultural—Virginia has entered a new era." "The Byrd machine is defunct," he writes, "and the state's politics have become fluid and uncertain. The racial situation has been totally transformed" (pp. 580–81). He cites great progress in higher education, rapid industrial development, and an urban population explosion. While he recognizes the achievements of Harry Byrd as governor in the 1920s, he reserves his highest praise for Mills Godwin, governor from 1966 to 1970, whose term Dabney sees as "one of a handful of truly exceptional gubernatorial administrations in the long history of Virginia, and second to none in modern times" (p. 575). Godwin, by abandoning Byrd's pay-as-you-go philosophy, getting a sales tax enacted, promoting constitutional revision, revitalizing education, and pressing other reforms, led Virginia "out of the rut in which she had been wallowing for decades" (p. 563).

The sparsely documented book is obviously designed for a wide audience, who will find an informative, interesting, and sympathetic survey of the history of the colony and commonwealth of Virginia and a knowledgeable assessment of its recent past.

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.
University of Missouri, Columbia

T. H. BREEN. *The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630–1730.* (Yale Historical Publications. Miscellany, Number 92.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970. Pp. xx, 301. $10.00.

T. H. Breen's subject is the transformation of political ideas in early New England. His method is Bailynesque: pamphlets (including printed election sermons) are his major source, and, as he stipulates in the preface, he eschews "hidden desires" and presumes always that his authors meant exactly "what they said, no matter how outrageous their words might now appear" (p. xv). Expressed ideas are, moreover, directly related to events, for to Breen (commendably) ideas jog along behind action. The method dictates style. In narrative form Breen recounts events from the Winthrop migration through the political battling of Governors Dudley and Shute, interspersing in the narrative, through extensive quotations, the intellectual adjustments that follow upon events: the steady movement of the mind from a Winthropian unity, albeit marked by "family quarrels," to an unbridgeable division between "court" and "country," from a monolithic view of the magistrate as the Lord's vicegerent on earth once properly chosen by a covenanted

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people, to dichotomous views of good rulers preserving the people's liberty and estates on the one hand, and, on the other, as gentlemen of culture and purse, wielding legitimate (that is, royal) power in the face of "democraticall anarkie" (p. 213).

The volume has its faults, certainly. Conscious of the difficulties of the "weasel word," "Puritan," Breen attempts to sidestep: "Puritan" in England, he stipulates, refers to the ministers of Haller's "spiritual brotherhood"; in the New England context "almost all Congregationalists" are to be considered Puritan (p. xviii). But the inadequacies of the sidestep are regularly apparent, as when he writes that "many of the men who supported Country views were not Puritans in a strictly religious sense" (p. 273). If Puritan equals Congregationalist and Congregationalism is to be taken in a religious sense, these "many" by definition were not Congregationalists, *ergo* they were Baptists or Anglicans or what-have-you with Congregational political ideas. One cannot help but wonder if the word is really worth such contortion. And there is an air of thinness to the volume. On one level it is merely irritating—half-errors of logic and fact that a bit more work would have erased. On another it provokes major disappointment. Shifts in the progression of ideas are too abrupt. The roots of a new twist in the view of the good ruler—roots both in New England and in an ever-changing old England—are unexplored. The tie to events is too often a pronouncement rather than a demonstration, as is Breen's statement in the epilogue that court and country appealed "to different ideas, sources, and traditions" (p. 271); he had already confessed ignorance of the sources of both.

Nevertheless, the volume is a decided contribution. The very consideration of ideas in New England as vital, dynamic, a product rather than determinative of a historical process, is refreshing. The historian of early New England, reading quickly for the mass and order of Breen's quotations, will find much to ponder.

DARRETT B. RUTMAN
University of New Hampshire

ROBERT J. TAYLOR, editor. *The Susquehannah Company Papers.* Volume 10, *1789–1800;* Volume 11, *1801–1808.* (Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Publications.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press for Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. 1971. Pp. xlii, 606; xxxvii, 565. $20.00 each.

These two volumes mark the completion of a labor begun over forty years ago, and, in the words of the chairman of the present Susquehannah Company Papers Publications Committee, "a dream has come true." The story of eighteenth-century land claims that resulted from the loosely worded colonial charters is an important chapter in American history. It reveals aspects of politics of the time and the growth of land speculation not obtained easily from the readily available history of the early colonies and states. Following the Revolution it became a vital part of the early westward expansion of the new nation. The eleven volumes of *The Susquehannah Company Papers* published for the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society document this segment of American history more fully by far than any other single collected source. Historians are in the debt of this ambitious and persevering local historical society. They are further in debt to Julian P. Boyd for editing the first four volumes and to Robert J. Taylor for his very capable work on volumes 5 through 11. Both the record of this land company and land speculation are covered from 1750 to 1808. The National Publications Commission and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission deserve credit for financial support of this venture through the final volumes.

The tenth volume highlights the famous law suit *Van Horne's Lessee* v. *Dorrance,* a key court case in the continued dispute over private land ownership in this northeastern Pennsylvania area, even though the usual historical treatment of the period implies that the issue was settled by the famous Trenton Decree in 1782. This ruling validated the Pennsylvania claim to the territory in dispute with Connecticut but did not settle private ownership problems. The Susquehannah Company continued to sell land well into the 1790s and to authorize townships within Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania also became excited when the issue of Connecticut's cession of its Western Reserve land claims to the United States came to the front in 1799. Some Pennsylvanians thought acceptance of Connecticut's cession implied a va-

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lidity to Connecticut's total original boundary claims with a consequent threat to the Trenton decision's validity.

The last volume represents a wise editorial decision to drop the initial plan to publish twelve volumes by eliminating repetitious material such as newspaper extracts and some letters and documents reviewing the previous history of the controversy. Volume 11 is concerned mainly with the roles of Thomas Cooper and Tench Coxe in implementing the Compromise Act that enabled Connecticut claimants to establish title to their lands within the fifteen Connecticut towns along the Susquehanna. It records also Pennsylvania's efforts to force other Connecticut settlers outside these towns to buy their lands. Each of the volumes includes an excellent introductory essay summarizing the significant developments of the period each covers. These are then illustrated by the documentary selections.

S. K. STEVENS
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

FREDERICK MERK, with the collaboration of LOIS BANNISTER MERK. *Fruits of Propaganda in the Tyler Administration.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. x, 259. $9.00.

Students of Professor Frederick Merk's brilliant monographs on manifest destiny, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Oregon question will be disappointed in this loosely argued collection of essays. In it Merk attempts to demonstrate that John Tyler used bribery and propaganda to effect the peaceful settlement of the Maine boundary dispute in 1841–42, and that to advance the cause of Texas annexation in 1844–45 he employed Senator Robert J. Walker's ingenious "safety-valve" thesis as administration propaganda.

It is not news that Tyler and Webster engaged at least five paid undercover agents to swing Maine opinion toward a boundary settlement. Tyler candidly admitted his own complicity in the scheme in May 1846. What is new is Professor Merk's imaginative detective work in reconstructing just how the settlement was managed. It is a fascinating story although the author fails to see that Tyler's devotion to states' rights (which he clearly compromised in Maine) was entirely negotiable when the President's political ambitions and his egocentric concerns with his role in history were involved in his decision making.

More controversial is Merk's attempt to link Tyler to the Walker thesis that Texas annexation would eventually solve the racial and slavery questions in America. Few students of Texas annexation would deny that the "safety-valve" argument played an important propaganda role in the annexation debate. But there is no persuasive evidence that Tyler embraced the thesis in 1844, or that he actively worked to popularize it at the time. Merk's case for a Tyler-Walker propaganda alliance is based almost entirely on his contention that Tyler and Walker were close personal friends, that Tyler endorsed the Walker thesis in 1847, and that two members of Tyler's Cabinet, William Wilkins and David Henshaw, supported it in 1844–45.

The fact of the matter is that Tyler skillfully argued Texas annexation in a British-encirclement context and as a national economic desideratum—not in the sectional or slavery terms he knew would defeat an annexation treaty, as indeed it initially did in June 1844. His passing remark in September 1847 that Walker's thesis had "unveiled the true merits of the question" was little more than a political gesture toward the moderate Southern Democracy whose support he sought for the presidential nomination in 1848. Nor were Tyler and Walker personal friends. Henshaw was no longer in Tyler's cabinet during the annexation debate; Wilkins was related to Senator Walker by marriage. Their support of the Walker thesis says nothing very convincing about Tyler's view or utilization of it. And to suggest, as Professor Merk does, that John Tyler introduced the Monroe Doctrine into the annexation debate because he "was clearly seeking a bond to unite the country in support of his policy of acquiring slave territory" is near nonsense. The allegation demonstrates little grasp of Tyler's complex and often contradictory views of race, slavery, and slavery extension.

In sum, this book fails in its attempt to sustain an interpretive overview of Tyler's diplomatic methodology in propaganda terms. Perhaps this is because Tyler's Anglophilia in Maine cannot easily be harmonized with his

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Anglophobia in Texas or his Anglo-ambivalence in Oregon. Unfortunately for Tyler-administration hypothesis makers, the tenth president was not a consistent person in his public life. He was, after all, the states' rights theoretician who eagerly accomplished Texas annexation in March 1845 by joint resolution—hardly a strict constructionist concept.

ROBERT SEAGER II
University of Baltimore

ZANE ALLEN MASON. *Frontiersmen of the Faith: A History of Baptist Pioneer Work in Texas 1865–1885*. San Antonio: Naylor Company. 1970. Pp. ix, 219. $7.95.

Writers of religious history are sometimes so secularly oriented as to have scant regard for religious concerns, while others are activist churchmen who seek acceptance of their personal views. Professor Mason is obviously dedicated to religious values but approaches his data objectively. His task is made easier by the terminal date for his study (1885), before the impact of the new geology, evolution, and Biblical criticism caused sharp tensions in conservative church circles.

The author identifies five basic Baptist principles: (1) separation of church and state, (2) individual responsibility to God, (3) conversion as a condition to church membership, (4) congregational church government, and (5) baptism by immersion. The volume parallels somewhat the study of Texas Disciples of Christ (Carter E. Boren, *Religion on the Texas Frontier* [1968]), although the latter carries the story well beyond 1885. Both religious groups held similar viewpoints, the Baptists stressing immersion while the Disciples emphasized a creedless adherence to Christ as the cornerstone of faith. In each group some opposed Sunday schools and missionary societies as not grounded in Scripture, but lack of support for missionary activity among the Baptists seems to have been due largely to financial problems.

The author summarizes Baptist beginnings before 1865 and then discusses the Texas frontier, northwestern, western, and southwestern. He has consulted many sources including secular and religious newspapers, church records, and secondary works. The average reader may find little interest in individuals and small congregations that made contributions to the Baptist enterprise, but the author attempts a thorough presentation. He supports historians such as William W. Sweet, asserting that pioneer churches moderated the frightful loneliness of frontier life and both by example and by disciplinary action aided law, order, and decency.

The difficulties encountered included a lack of financial resources and of a trained ministry, Indian depredations, droughts, grasshopper invasions, the prominence of the Catholic tradition among Mexican settlers and of the Lutheran faith among Germans, and splintering divisions among the Baptists. At times relations between white and black Baptists and widespread intemperance also presented real problems. Restricted basically to a twenty-year period and to one denomination the book makes a limited but significant contribution to American religious history.

FRANCIS PHELPS WEISENBURGER
Ohio State University

BEVERLEY BOWEN MOELLER. *Phil Swing and Boulder Dam*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 199. $8.50.

Although the history of the American West is a much tilled field the record of Western growth in the twentieth century is still sketchy and obscure. And yet it is a vital part of the national experience. Hence this well-written monograph is especially welcome, for it illuminates not only an important aspect of Western development but presidential politics and public power policies during the twenties as well.

Mrs. Moeller's compact volume is mainly concerned with the efforts of California's Congressman Phil Swing to secure congressional approval for the building of Boulder Dam. Beginning in 1921 Swing fought singlemindedly for establishment of this project. Arrayed against him were private utility interests, large-scale real-estate developers like the Hearsts, and uninterested Easteners. The author carefully traces the tortuous path of Boulder Dam legislation during more than seven years of bitter struggle. Only in 1928 did congress finally authorize construction of what was then the biggest dam on earth. Mrs. Moeller concludes that the redesignated Hoover Dam was grossly misnamed since throughout the twenties Herbert Hoover had shown himself to be an inveterate opponent of public power and consistently opposed the project. Nevertheless, many historians have as-

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sociated Hoover Dam with the Hoover administration. To correct such distortions, Mrs. Moeller feels quite rightly, Congressman Phil Swing should be accorded his due right to be considered as the father of Hoover Dam. This carefully researched and objective monograph should provide an effective antidote for recent efforts to revitalize the fictitious myth of Herbert Hoover as the true progenitor of the New Deal.

Assiduously grounded in exhaustive research, mostly in primary materials, this erstwhile dissertation is a model of careful historical scholarship. It should be of interest not only to those concerned with the West but to all students of twentieth-century America.

GERALD D. NASH
University of New Mexico

NATHAN IRVIN HUGGINS. *Harlem Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 343. $8.95.

Rather than being a formal history of the Negro literary and artistic flowering in the 1920s, Huggins's *Harlem Renaissance* is a series of explorations of black identity and the problems of being a black artist in a white, racist society.

The reader of this long-awaited volume is going to be disappointed if he expects a study taking advantage of the wealth of hitherto unused manuscript sources available. Instead Huggins bases his study on a few interviews and the existing published literature, chiefly the writings of the Renaissance authors. This fact necessarily limits Huggins's analysis of the dynamics and personalities, white and black, involved in the development of the Renaissance and even makes his discussion of certain key topics, central to his book, less rich than they should have been. Thus, to cite just one example of materials Huggins should have consulted, James Weldon Johnson's notebooks contain materials that shed considerable illumination on the whole question of cultural nationalism and ethnic identity as viewed by a leading figure in the movement.

On the other hand when Huggins, in his opening chapter, seriously attempts a historical treatment, he commits a number of obvious factual errors and digresses into irrelevant topics such as Du Bois's support of Wilson in 1912 and the World War I campaign, led by NAACP board chairman Joel Spingarn, for a black officers' training camp. (Curiously, however, Huggins fails to discuss Spingarn's role in encouraging the Harlem Renaissance, both through the literary prizes given in his wife's name and through his activities as a founder of Harcourt, Brace.) Unfortunately while irrelevancies are discussed, Huggins fails to provide an adequate treatment of the intellectual origins of the Renaissance, nor does he make some of the relevant background data he does present functional to his later analysis.

The heart of the book—dealing with the cultural and ethnic ambivalences of the Renaissance artists and writers and the dilemmas they found in attempting to achieve artistic integrity in a milieu where, with their interests in the "primitive" and exotic, white patrons and readers determined "success"—is handled with great sensitivity and insight. The problem is that most of the ground has been pretty well covered before. Thoughtful as his somewhat discursive essays are, the author's failure to use manuscript materials or to attempt a more comprehensive treatment of the movement means that he has not brought us very much further than what we can learn from earlier works like James Weldon Johnson's *Black Manhattan* (1930), Alain Locke's *The New Negro* (1925), Langston Hughes's *The Big Sea* (1946), Gilbert Osofsky's *Harlem* (1966), and Robert Bone's *The Negro Novel in America* (1965).

An adequate history of the Harlem Renaissance is still to be written.

AUGUST MEIER
Kent State University

ROSS RUSSELL. *Jazz Style in Kansas City and the Southwest*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. xviii, 292. $12.50.

Popular myth would have it that jazz was "born" in New Orleans and traveled "up de ribber" to Chicago (which required a bit of doing, inasmuch as de ribber doesn't go to Chicago). A revisionist interpretation emphasizes the independent evolution of jazz in various geographic areas.

Ross Russell rather inclines toward the latter view. He makes much of the cultural isolation of Kansas City and of the "Pendergast prosperity" that lured musicians to Kansas City during the depression—two factors that permitted the

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development of a distinctive jazz style. Unfortunately the average reader will be hard pressed to know just what this jazz style was—other than the suggestions that it was peculiarly influenced by folk song and that it emphasized the "riff" as a musical device. Jazz cognoscenti will understand what is meant by Kansas City style, but will object that Russell goes beyond mere style to make Kansas City jazz virtually *sui generis!*

Most valuable are the chapters describing the early jazz bands of the region. The author displays an unparalleled knowledge of Coy's Happy Black Aces, Alphonso Trent, Troy Floyd, Peck's Bad Boys, Art Bronson's Bostonians (out of Salina, Kansas!), The Blues Syncopaters, Lloyd Hunter's Serenaders, Buster Smith's Blue Devils, and many other little-known musicians and organizations. There are excellent chapters on others that became nationally prominent: Bennie Moten, Count Basie, Andy Kirk's Clouds of Joy, Harlan Leonard's Rockets, and Jay McShann.

Saxophonists Lester Young and Charlie Parker are singled out for extended analysis. The latter was the central figure in the Kansas City inspired Bebop revolution and subsequent developments in modern jazz. Ironically Lester Young could be cited as a refutation of Russell's thesis that Kansas City jazz was essentially uninfluenced by other styles. Young was raised and began playing music in New Orleans and was most influenced by the recordings of Frankie Trumbauer and Bix Beiderbecke. Indeed the existence of the phonograph record makes nonsense of Russell's "cultural isolation" ideas.

Despite the vulnerability of some of his enthusiasms, Ross Russell's book is the best that we have on the subject of Southwestern jazz and probably will remain so. It is well documented, with a modicum of errors, and includes a discography, a bibliography, and excellent photographs.

GEORGE A. BOECK
University of Northern Colorado

R. SERGE DENISOFF. *Great Day Coming: Folk Music and the American Left.* (Music in American Life.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1971. Pp. 219. $7.50.

This book tells the story of the cultivation of folk music by the Old Left of the 1930s and the New Left of the 1960s. In the 1930s radical interest in folk music grew at first from unforced encounter with native tradition. During the Gastonia strike of 1929 and again in bloody Harlan County a few years later Ella May Wiggins and Aunt Molly Jackson made up songs for the struggle. Prompted by such experience, at Brookwood Labor College near New York City, Commonwealth College in Arkansas, and the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee new political words were set to traditional hymns and spirituals such as "We Shall Overcome."

In the late 1930s this cultural style became party doctrine. Denisoff suggests several reasons. The Communist party had a high percentage of recent immigrants and wished to overcome its cultural separation from mainstream America. A prestigious model in the international Communist movement was the peasant art that did service as proletarian culture in the Soviet Union. And after the adoption of the "popular front" perspective in 1935 Communist parties sought alliances with groups less radical than themselves. Folk music helped to answer each of these political needs.

The results are familiar to those who grew up in New York City at this time and frequented Left gatherings. A Leadbelly or Woody Guthrie was brought to the big city, lionized in the party subculture, and imitated by countless college dropouts with guitars as well as groups like the Almanac Singers. The political folk song and the hootenany became the cultural side of the Communist party's effort to represent "twentieth-century Americanism."

The twists and turns of the party line after 1939, together with the blacklisting of individuals like Pete Seeger and the repression of radicalism generally, prevented these songs and their singers from winning wide acceptance, even in the trade-union movement. Yet in 1949–52, when repression was most intense, the commercial success of the Weavers with songs like Leadbelly's "Good Night, Irene" and Guthrie's "So Long, It's Been Good To Know You" foreshadowed what was to come. Along with the revival of the political Left in the 1960s the folk song finally conquered Tin Pan Alley.

Victory came at a price. The Almanac Singers had understood their work as a collective

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process: the song was ideally derived from anonymous folk tradition, the singer was often an unidentified member of a group that would draw its audience into the performance. In contrast Dylan, Baez, or Ochs composed songs that expressed their personal feelings, sold them on records, and did not shrink from the focus on themselves that followed. If the folk music of the 1930s at its worst produced a labored straining toward imagined sentiments of "the people," the folk music of the 1960s at its worst produced an equally artificial commercialized star system.

In his concern to call attention to these features of the truth Denisoff draws a caricature rather than a portrait. At its best the tradition of political folk song has been very good indeed. In their different ways Pete Seeger and Joan Baez have shown that musicians can enrich rather than cheapen their craft by plunging into politics; that the professional and the amateur have complementary contributions to make to a total art; that a performer can relate to an audience as equals without false deference or arrogance. They have created a model from which all professionals and craftsmen, not least historians, can learn.

STAUGHTON LYND
Chicago, Illinois

WILLIAM C. BERMAN. *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1970. Pp. xi, 261. $8.00.

Professor Berman observes that Harry Truman was in deep trouble in his 1940 senatorial campaign. The Pendergast machine was out of power and his opponent in the primary was preferred by FDR. However, the "organized" black vote pulled Truman through. Ironically, four years later, he had the enthusiastic support of the South in its successful effort to dump "nigger-loving" Henry Wallace as Roosevelt's running mate. As Berman points out, Truman's appeal lay in his "centrist" links to both the liberal and conservative wings of the Democratic party. He believed in "fair play" and "equal justice" for Negroes, but not if that meant incurring serious opposition from Southern congressmen. As president he sought to avoid a major rupture between the party's two factions and to call upon the Southern congressional bloc for support of his foreign policy and welfare programs. But the Republican landslide in the 1946 congressional elections convinced Truman that for 1948 he needed a civil rights record to appeal to the Democrats' Northern liberal wing—especially to black voters in key industrial states. Accordingly, while he still could not bring himself to fight for civil rights legislation, he willingly delivered important presidential statements and used his executive power on behalf of Negro aspirations. Truman issued an executive order creating a commission that studied race relations in America and called for the full integration of blacks. Another Truman order provided for the desegregation of the armed forces. But a third one, issued later, in 1951, which required corporations holding federal contracts to pursue a nondiscriminatory employment policy, was ineffectively enforced. Indeed, having won the 1948 election with overwhelming black support despite a torn-up Democratic party, Truman, as a true "centrist," thereupon gave top priority to healing the North-South breach in the party and in Congress. That task, of course, ended hope for civil rights legislation. Yet as Berman shows, Truman had done more for civil rights than any previous president and had used his office to help create a new climate of opinion. But frightened of the political dangers Truman refused to go further.

Berman has produced a highly competent study, carefully researched in the archival materials relevant to Truman and to Negroes. Berman correctly emphasizes the black vote in affecting Truman's actions. However, while the author also mentions the role of the black man's "white allies," the book could have been improved by an analysis of just how these whites actually functioned in the "politics of civil rights."

This volume is a welcome addition to the literature.

ELLIOTT RUDWICK
Kent State University

JOSEPH BRUCE GORMAN. *Kefauver: A Political Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 434. $10.00.

It was highly unlikely that a man whose campaign emblem was a coonskin cap should be

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elected president in the industrial, urban society that the United States had become by the 1950s. The fate of Bryan's aspirations a half century earlier should have taught that lesson. Moreover, most Americans enjoyed a complacent mood during the period of the Eisenhower equilibrium, and in many circles there existed little sympathy with a boat-rocking populist of the sort that Senator Estes Kefauver seemed to be. In addition, Kefauver of Tennessee labored under the misfortune of sowing his presidential oats at the time that Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas began working the same field, thus presenting a rare occasion in modern history when not just one, but two Southerners offered themselves as contenders for the White House. In the end Johnson proved to be the "slicker" of the two men.

Nevertheless it appears that the quest for the nation's highest office governed, in large part, Estes Kefauver's career; he had contracted, as Professor Frederick Merk used to put it, "the presidential fever." Almost from the beginning of his service as a congressman in 1939, and then as a senator after 1949, Kefauver had a knack for latching on to issues that were headline catchers: reform of congressional procedures, concentration of control in big business, juvenile delinquency, and, of course, the famous televised hearings on organized crime in the early 1950s. (One is reminded of Senator Joe McCarthy's thrashing about for a viable issue until he stumbled upon "the Communist menace.") Kefauver's name became well enough known so that twice, in 1952 and 1956, he could score impressive victories along the "primary route" to the executive mansion. Although he carried off his party's vice-presidential nomination in 1956, during the next few years he ran afoul of the complex maneuverings of the Johnson and Kennedy forces to such an extent that by late 1959 the public opinion polls no longer listed him among the Democrats' presidential hopefuls. Thereafter Kefauver settled down to become a Senate workhorse, especially in the field of consumer protection, until death unexpectedly claimed him in 1963.

Kefauver's biographer, Joseph Bruce Gorman, does not push the "presidential fever" theme as relentlessly as I have done in the above summary. It may well be, as he suggests, that unselfish concern for the public interest motivated Kefauver's behavior more than I have allowed. In any event an "emotional moat" surrounded the man, according to the author, and consequently it is difficult to tell just why Kefauver followed the paths he did. As one who is skeptical about the reliability of biographical "psychoanalysis," I will not quarrel over the point. Gorman has written an interesting and competent account of Kefauver's public life, one that is about as thorough as available evidence allows. If Kefauver was a headline hunter he, unlike McCarthy, at least exploited causes that contributed to the general welfare. And if the *New Republic* in its 1963 obituary could feel that Kefauver's populism was "a legacy from the past" possessing "neither the intellectual style nor the restrained manner valued on the New Frontier or elsewhere in an increasingly technocratic society," there are perhaps today a growing number of Americans who are not quite so sure that "his faith is . . . largely discredited."

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER
University of Delaware

ROBERT L. BRANYAN and LAWRENCE H. LARSEN. *The Eisenhower Administration, 1953–1961: A Documentary History*. In two volumes. New York: Random House. 1971. Pp. xi, 686; vi, 687–1414. $55.00 the set.

The editors of these two large volumes appear to have defined their objectives as, first, the compilation of an interior documentary history of the Eisenhower administration during its years of power; second, the presentation of administration viewpoints rather than lengthy editorial analysis; and third, the maximum usage of manuscripts from the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library. Their most important contribution is the publication of many significant documents not already in print. Their chronological-topical organization imparts a good sense of the political structure of the 1950s.

This collection nevertheless seems to pass over some important problems. There is no section on the 1952 campaign, although a few 1952 documents are included under other topical headings. The book does not have a single speech or statement by Eisenhower's influential

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first secretary of the treasury, William Humphrey; the equally important second holder of the office, Robert Anderson, is never even mentioned. A section on "the McCarthy problem" in 1953–54 fails to illustrate that part of the administration's difficulty in dealing with Senator Joe McCarthy stemmed from its own use of McCarthyism in Attorney General Brownell's revival of the Harry Dexter White controversy and Vice-President Nixon's congressional campaign speeches.

These omissions may indicate an absence of such material at the Eisenhower Library; if so, the editors have relied too heavily upon the papers there. Commendable though it is, their aim of reproducing as many unpublished documents as possible appears at times to have led them into the trivial. The book contains far too many unsubstantive communications of gratitude, personal friendship, or condolence —largely, no doubt, because Eisenhower's private personal correspondence remains closed. The illness and death of John Foster Dulles, for example, is covered by eight pages consisting mostly of Eisenhower's expressions of confidence in and affection for his secretary of state; the topic might have been better served by the selection of some published contemporary analyses of Dulles's accomplishments and the consequences of his passing.

Other subjects, apparently because of the availability of manuscripts, receive treatment disproportionate to their importance, among them the teapot tempest accompanying the trial of the American soldier William Girard by a Japanese court, the petty partisan maneuverings that delayed statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, and the flap over distribution of the Salk polio vaccine. A section on the interstate highway program, although interesting and informative, receives twice as much space as the Dixon-Yates controversy.

In their attempt to present administration perspectives the editors seem to suspend their critical faculties on some issues. Their comments and selections on McCarthyism, the Dixon-Yates fight, and civil rights treat the Eisenhower government much more gently than most accounts. In some cases the documents fail to convey the political dialogue; sections on agricultural problems and the 1958 recession contain no statements of opposition alternatives or criticisms. Nor is there any skeptical analysis of the fuzzy and muddled concept of "modern Republicanism."

Errors are relatively few and usually obvious, but some readers may be unaware that it was not Walton, but Edwin Walker who commanded the troops sent to Little Rock (p. 1140). Perhaps because of space limitations, the bibliographical essay is disappointingly brief and incomplete.

Most of these criticisms involve matters of editorial judgment, and even the most carping reviewer should beware of making his conception of editorial priorities an absolute standard. Many of the sections of this book are informative and thoroughly satisfactory from any vantage point. The coverage of the organization of the executive branch, for example, is quite illuminating, and most of the diplomatic-military sections are very well done. Branyan and Larsen probably give Eisenhower the benefit of a doubt too often, but their mild revisionism may serve as a corrective to the biases of liberal historians. Far more complete and valuable than most documentary collections, this book will become a standard reference source.

Until now historians interested in the Eisenhower administration have had to make do with memoirs, journalistic accounts, and a few scholarly works by political scientists. This collection, along with Herbert Parmet's forthcoming study of the Eisenhower years, should mark the opening of a new era to serious historical inquiry.

ALONZO L. HAMBY
Ohio University

WILLIAM L. O'NEILL. *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1971. Pp. ix, 442, xxvi. $12.50.

Coming Apart, which lurches from the eloquent to the colloquial and from the shrewd to the commonplace, is a fiercely opinionated study of the sixties. Subtitled *An Informal History* this volume is an often impressive—and sometimes irritating—combination of personal journalism, cultural criticism, and historical appraisal that eschews interviews and archives and

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rests largely on the journalism of the past decade. *Coming Apart* is perceptive and derivative, thoughtful and careless, full of judgments and often without enough analysis. It is a bold, ambitious, personal book that expresses the author's conclusions and prejudices but is weakened by the absence of any extended statement of his political and cultural philosophy.

In this richly informed survey O'Neill, building upon the essays of Murray Kempton and others, contributes to the emerging favorable reassessment of Eisenhower, though noting that the president's achievements were largely negative: Ike ended the Korean War, stayed out of new ones, and kept military spending down. John Foster Dulles, however, was "laughable when not sinister." O'Neill also joins the fun in puncturing some of the myths of Camelot and *John F. Kennedy. Contending* that the Kennedy of 1960 "was mostly blind to what would dominate American life in the sixties," O'Neill scolds the administration for the space race, regrets Kennedy's "obsession" with NATO, criticizes his support of the Bay of Pigs invasion and his handling of the missile crisis, and concludes that his government's commitment to civil rights was "real and misleading." Still Kennedy, "the existential hero," was "midwife" to the "new order struggling to be born." O'Neill stresses Johnson's "fakery" and deceit in foreign policy, contends that Johnson did not want peace without victory in South Vietnam, laments the President's failures in domestic policy, but finds (questionably) that he "never wavered" in his hatred of racism. Even the much-heralded Alliance For Progress, O'Neill charges, was a complete failure; he adds that United States policy in Latin America was "always exploitive." Most of these judgments seem sound (though controversial), are based upon stated assumptions, and undoubtedly express the notions of many who are reinterpreting the recent past.

More troubling, however, are some of the author's other views. For example he finds conservatives "more demented" than radicals in the early sixties, views the ghetto uprisings as "a kind of madness," stresses the achievements of Eugene McCarthy's candidacy, concludes that "radicalism does not work" in America, and believes that if the country is saved it will be by people like Ralph Nader. O'Neill also dislikes the counterculture of drugs and hippies, castigates those radicals who use violence in America, and defends the universities on the grounds that their "evil" ("military research, officer training") could be done anywhere, but their existence is essential for disinterested inquiry and the search for truth and beauty. Underlying these beliefs, which have their echoes throughout much of the book, is a set of fundamental values or a philosophy that remains vague, dim, often implicit—yet central to understanding and evaluating much of the volume. O'Neill seems to be a liberal who, lamenting much of the self-laceration of other liberals, endorses the politics represented by Eugene McCarthy, opposes the war and racism, regards much black militancy as foolish and self-destructive, and hopes (perhaps uneasily) for change through the electoral process. America's postwar foreign policy has often been misguided, O'Neill emphasizes, and the domino theory is simple-minded and usually wrong. In these views he stays within the new liberal framework. Presumably O'Neill regards radical analyses of American imperialism and of the concentration of power as wrong, for these theories are not at the root of his judgments and do not receive more than a few acknowledgments, certainly not a rebuttal.

Even those who disagree with many of O'Neill's judgments and lament his decision to avoid a sustained dialogue with radicals will have to be impressed by his capacity to survey the sixties and to recapture much of their faith, fervor, and fear. Because *Coming Apart* pulls together so much and offers a critical perspective on the last decade, this lively book will be widely used in courses and is likely to provoke in less extreme forms the passions and antagonisms that have so often divided students from teachers, and colleagues from one another, in the past few years. Perhaps, in the last analysis, this will also be a testimonial to the author's courage, candor, and commitment.

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN
Stanford University

MIGUEL JORRÍN and JOHN D. MARTZ. *Latin-American Political Thought and Ideology.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1970. Pp. xiii, 453. $12.50.

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The welcome deserved by this long-needed work on Latin American political thought and ideologies must be tempered by the realization that what Professor Martz has done is to complete a manuscript that the late Miguel Jorrín left unfinished at his death. This dual authorship also makes it difficult to tell how much of the book is the work of Professor Jorrín and how much comes from the mind and pen of Professor Martz, despite the latter's indication of the general lines of division in the preface (p. xii). The first half of the book, the historical background through the nineteenth century, is basically the work of Jorrín; the second half, dealing with the thought and ideologies of the twentieth century, is largely, if not entirely, the work of Martz. Considered together, their contributions constititute a pioneer work on a too much neglected area of modern political thought. The historian may find it less than satisfactory, however, particularly in respect to the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, while the political scientist may find it too "historical." But both should find it highly useful.

Since previous studies of Latin American thought have come largely from historians, sociologists, and philosophers, it is approriate, in connection with this work by two political scientists, to ask some general questions as to what a book of this kind, intended as a general guide to students of the subject, should be like. Should it be chiefly addressed to questions of political philosophy and theory, such as the nature and functions of the state, philosophy of law, and the nature of political behavior? Should it, rather, concentrate on political ideologies, and if so how should they be analyzed? How much attention should be given to the theoretical and philosophical search for norms and values and how much should be directed toward more situational, relativist, and "existentialist" questions? To what extent should it be historical? Neither Professor Martz nor Professor Jorrín seems to have addressed such questions directly, preferring an uncomplicated account of what Latin Americans have written and thought. But I am inclined to conclude that, despite the historical approach they have adopted and their ideological conceptualization, their preference is for a relativist-existentialist analysis that looks primarily at ideologies and at the political events and circumstances that give them meaning or lack of meaning.

Several chapters make outstanding contributions to our understanding of the subject. Among these are a short but enlightening chapter (6) on anarchism in Latin America, a chapter (5) on "Idealism," which will disturb philosophers by its rather loose use of the term, but which brings out one of the outstanding characteristics of Latin American thought, and a very useful chapter (9) on "Marxism in Theory and Practice." One might wish that the section on Cuban revolutionary thought in this last chapter were less taken up with political events and devoted more to an analysis of the thought and ideology, especially that of Ernesto "Che" Guevara. There is a good chapter (13) on Christian Democratic thought.

While noting the many excellent qualities of this book, I must express regret that the authors have given very little attention to the important streams of traditionalism and conservative thought, to legal philosophy, to the considerable literature on the theory of the state, and to economic and sociological theory, in which Latin American writing also abounds. The index, limited to names, would have been more useful if it had included at least a few of the subject headings not covered adequately in the contents.

HAROLD EUGENE DAVIS
American University

ERIC WILLIAMS. *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492–1969.* New York: Harper and Row. 1970. Pp. 576. $10.95.

The author's avowed purpose in writing this book was to cope with the fact that "there is no history of the Caribbean area as a whole." This fact is true despite the inclusion of Caribbean events within the histories of the metropolitan powers who colonized the area and the production of good national histories by a few of the republics. The term "Caribbean" has remained a geographical expression without definite political or cultural content. Even in the geographical sense there are differences of meaning as some scholars include the mainland countries that border the Caribbean Sea as well as the islands within it. The author includes only the islands but adds to them the Guianas

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as areas with a political and institutional background linking them to the Caribbean.

The question of focus is important because if the large mainland republics of Spanish origin are included the small states of non-Spanish background become only quaint aberrants in the general picture of the region. A true Caribbean history requires also a prior analysis of the common factors in the various states if a comprehensive and meaningful history is to be constructed.

The author's contributions in this respect are impressive. His consistent study may be traced back to his doctoral dissertation in history at Oxford and the syntheses he presented in his book *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944). As prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago since 1956, Eric Williams's statements acquire value not only for what they are but for who he is. The factors he finds that give unity to the Caribbean include slavery; the black and his culture; sugar and the plantation system; and colonialism, mercantilism, and capitalism as applied by colonial powers in the area. The present book presents a notable advance from that of 1944. A principal part of this advance is the real effort Williams has expended to bring the non-Spanish islands more understandingly into his study.

His work on Cuba is especially good, and he generously makes the statement that "Nineteenth century Cuba produced more great men than the rest of the Caribbean territories combined throughout their entire history." There are some errors that appear to be more than typographical, but on the whole this is a provocative, useful book that should stimulate further development in the direction the author has taken. There are numerous controversial statements, as is only natural in such a trail breaker. The most serious objection the reviewer must make is the absence of footnotes to make available the many sources quoted in the texts. Since the book must be considered a scholarly book and not a popular one the omission of footnotes and marginal comments is unfortunate. It is true that there is a large bibliography with comments, but immediate page reference to quoted material would have been most useful.

In summary, a work indispensable to the student of the Caribbean—in any definition of the term.

ROBERT E. MCNICOLL
University of Miami, Coral Gables

ROBERT I. ROTBERG, with CHRISTOPHER K. CLAGUE. *Haiti: The Politics of Squalor.* (Twentieth Century Fund Study.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1971. Pp. xvi, 456. $10.00.

This work can be conveniently divided into three parts. In the first the author reviews Haitian history. Emphasizing the nineteenth century and United States occupation Rotberg pays close attention to factors in Haiti's troubled past that may seem causal when one is forced to explain the reign of Dr. François Duvalier. Rotberg emphatically finds such factors, and a central thesis of the book is that the Duvalier regime was a result, almost an inevitable result, of Haiti's history and "social and political matrix." The big question likely to be raised is whether one can be this much of a historical determinist, even in backward, relatively "uncomplicated" societies such as Haiti.

The author then turns to the Duvalier years, and although this section offers more narrative than analysis, it remains by far the best and most sober account to date, *pace* Diederich and Burt, Graham Greene, Gingras, and others.

Finally the author turns to a most detailed analysis of present-day Haiti, its health conditions, educational system, agriculture, and economy. Judiciously but scathingly he examines and demolishes many of the plans and campaigns that have been suggested or mounted to solve one or all of the country's multitude of problems. To replace such chimera Rotberg admits that he has little to offer. Small, pragmatic, local schemes may be of some help. Massive outside interventions or invasions have proved that they are not. Rotberg concludes, realistically, that if there is indeed a set of solutions to Haiti's appalling situation—and that in itself is doubtful—then it must be a slow, painful, and mostly Haitian one.

Much of the literature on Haiti is partisan, strident, and inferior in quality. It is difficult, therefore, to place this book—a serious, well-researched account—in its proper context. At-

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tempts to claim that Haitians suffer from a national paranoia related to child-rearing practices leave me skeptical, as do the fortunately brief attempts to introduce magno-political concepts such as "the predatory state." At times the style, perhaps even the vocabulary, is needlessly journalistic. These reservations apart, there is little doubt that, *faute de mieux,* this is the best book on present-day Haiti to appear in recent years.

The appendixes on exports in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should be of use to historians, and the long bibliography of printed works is comprehensive.

MURDO J. MACLEOD
University of Pittsburgh

HARRY LEONARD SAWATZKY. *They Sought a Country: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico.* With an appendix on Mennonite colonization in British Honduras. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 387. $11.50.

In four centuries of preserving their Anabaptist beliefs Mennonites have migrated many times while searching for a country and rural environment willing to accept them. Progressive members have made adjustments to urban life; the more conservative had formed closed colonies successively in Prussia, south Russia, and Canada by 1870. The Privilegium under which they maintained their private schools and exemption from military service was weakened in Canada during World War I. Migration to Mexico began in the 1920s, under new Privilegia from President Obregon in 1921. Seeking the wastelands of the interior, some 7,800 Mennonites were settled in Durango and Chihuahua colonies by 1950. All but a few hundred were from the Canadian prairie provinces.

Most of Professor Sawatzky's book details the manner in which these migrants adjusted to the barren highlands and the evolving life of post-Revolutionary Mexico. By 1950 their hardships seemed to have assured them of permanence. However, Mexican nationalists, especially in Chihuahua, attacked their aloofness from Mexican society, failure to upgrade educational ideas, and resistance to changes arising from the national revolution. Pressures to abrogate parts of the Privilegia have increased yearly. Attempts to force Mennonites into the national social security system alarmed them. In the mid-1950s a migration of 3,500 to British Honduras—with a new Privilegium—gave them another country and new challenges. It seems likely to Sawatzky, a Mennonite geographer at the University of Manitoba, that the bulk of the conservatives in Mexico will soon be moving out, probably to Paraguay and eastern Bolivia. Though their half-century struggle in Mexico seems to have left them with the old alternatives of adapting or moving, they have made a durable impact on the interior of northern Mexico. Pioneering agriculture in former grazing lands, they led Mexicans to adopt their methods. While modern Mexican practices have passed the Mennonites in many ways in recent years, it is unlikely that the Mennonite beginnings will be forgotten wherever they might go.

The account is difficult to follow, largely because it has no map to show the colony sites, which are described textually with precision but not clarity. The map for British Honduras does what one or two could do for Chihuahua and Durango: pinpoint locations so the goings and comings of the fragmented Mennonites might be more readily followed.

EUGENE K. CHAMBERLIN
San Diego City College

ANDRÉ SAINT-LU. *Condition coloniale et conscience créole au Guatemala (1524–1821).* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Poitiers, Number 8.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1970. Pp. 219. 25 fr.

Criollismo, the theme of Professor Saint-Lu's work, is the expression by the so-called *criollos* (Americans of Spanish descent born in the New World) of a growing regional self-consciousness. In his case study of Guatemala, the author situates this feeling initially in the pride of conquest by the conquistadors, in their zeal in defending Guatemala from Spanish rivals or foreign buccaneers, and in their insistence on the right for themselves and their descendants to hold local political office, to receive income from Indian labor, and to enjoy various other privileges associated with the nobiliary class of Spain. Zealous in defending their privileges

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against immigrant Spaniards, the *criollos* nurtured and expanded *criollismo* during the seventeenth century to include an esthetic appreciation of their native land and an admiration for the ancient Maya, both subjects expressed by the Creole historian, Francisco Fuentes y Guzman (1642?–1690?) in his history, *Recordacion Florida.*

The theme is less well sustained during the eighteenth century and the independence period, owing to the complexity of cultural influences and political ideas coming from Europe, but the author shows that the Creole class, better educated and wealthier, retained sufficient unity of feeling by a matured *criollismo* to accomplish a bloodless independence in 1821. Although the work clearly establishes the continuity of *criollismo* as a feeling shared by the Guatemalan *criollo* class during the colonial period, the theme could have been further illuminated by attention to Mayan passivism and limited miscegenation in Guatemala, for the class feeling on which *criollismo* rested was less solid in such racially mixed regions as El Salvador and south-central Mexico.

TROY S. FLOYD
University of New Mexico

RICHARD NEWBOLD ADAMS. *Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan National Social Structure, 1944–1966.* With chapters by BRIAN MURPHY and BRYAN ROBERTS. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1970. Pp. xiv, 553. $10.00.

This study, a combined effort by some of Richard Adams's graduate students and colleagues during 1963–65, is really an attempt (1) to explain how limited access to centers of power prevents many Guatemalans from improving their social and economic position and (2) to explore whether or not Guatemalans have the capacity to improve their situation. The work provisionally demonstrates that Guatemalan society is so restricted by its internal structure as well as by the strong influence of the United States that there is little likelihood that broad changes will occur.

Historians may find the theoretical disputation in the first chapter somewhat tedious. Adams has his own views and challenges the approach of several of his fellow anthropologists, but the chapter contains important sections on the structure, organization, and concentration of power. The bulk of the book consists of case studies by graduate students. Adams has analyzed their efforts and presented their finds, some of which challenge more traditional interpretations. Historians of Latin America or United States diplomacy might do well to take note of them. Diplomatic historians should consider that, the United Fruit Company notwithstanding, the United States really became deeply involved in Guatemala only in the period after 1941.

The overthrow of the controversial reform government of President Arbenz in 1954 led to a significant increase in U.S. industrial activity. Scores of American representatives of military, technical, and voluntary organizations also entered the country. This broadening of American activity placed increased strictures on the Guatemalans' ability to control many aspects of their own destiny.

Adams's study rightly shows that interests controlled by a minority of Guatemalans also inhibited diversification of power. One such interest group is the military. The officers liked the perquisites introduced by the United States, but they recognized that they did not want the United States to control them. The officers reacted by resolving internal differences, and, as the 1960s demonstrated, they achieved more say in the governance of their country.

There are several other chapters interesting to historians. These include insights into the Church's attempts to reassert itself, the role of interest groups, and the ecological and economic impact of cotton.

It is necessary to stress again that this study is only a preliminary one. No matter how small or willing the nation, a handful of investigators can only accomplish so much. But one has to begin somewhere, and for that reason Adams's look at the uses and abuses of power merits serious consideration.

J. C. M. OGELSBY
University of Western Ontario

G. A. MELLANDER. *The United States in Panamanian Politics: The Intriguing Formative Years.* Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers. 1971. Pp. 215. $7.95.

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The subtitle of the volume, *The Intriguing Formative Years,* supplies the theme for this engaging study of the intimate United States involvement in Panamanian politics from the months just prior to her independence through the administration of her first president (1904–08). The author's many years of residence in Panama and his opportunity for thorough investigation of Panamanian source materials provide another perspective for subject matter that has heretofore been examined mainly in terms of United States foreign policy. His interpretation presents the United States as reacting to events rather than calculating a strategy. United States involvement in Panama's independence originated not in Washington but in Panama itself: Panamanian revolutionists, aided and abetted by nonisthmians, sought United States assistance. Although the United States was scarcely a reluctant partner it did not initiate the separatists' plans. Again, John Hay was not the architect of the 1903 treaty that transformed Panama into a protectorate of the United States, but Philippe Bunau-Varilla—although Hay did not hesitate to take full advantage of the opportunity presented. Dr. Mellander reminds us of a "soulfully painful" truth: not a single Panamanian was present during any of the treaty discussions. Bunau-Varilla virtually forced the treaty upon the hapless Panamanian Junta, which promised to ratify it five days before receiving it.

The author discerns two continuing threads during the period discussed. The Roosevelt administration became increasingly concerned that Panamanian internal politics might degenerate into an anarchy that could endanger the building of the canal and gravitated toward secret but active involvement in these politics. Notwithstanding, Washington became intimately involved in the internal affairs of Panama only after insistent and numerous pleas from the Panamanian Liberal party. The inordinate desire of the party for power led it into actions that seriously compromised the nation's sovereignty. "It may not be stretching a point too far to state that the United States, certainly not interested in becoming embroiled in local affairs, was the naive handmaiden of the Liberals. For they, preying on Washington's myopic phobia of danger to the canal-building project, induced the United States to intervene in Panama's political arena" (p. 194).

MAURY BAKER
Kent State University

ROBERT W. SHIRLEY. *The End of a Tradition: Culture Change and Development in the Município of Cunha, São Paulo, Brazil.* (Institute of Latin American Studies, Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 304. $10.00.

Cunha is perhaps the most thoroughly researched community of small-town Brazil. Shirley, an anthropologist, is the seventh scholar to work there, and his study uses Emílio Willems's *Cunha* (1947) as a point of departure. The new book, however, is not a restudy *stricto sensu,* but an examination of "disorganization of an old agrarian society . . . and the multifold effect which an industrial center has on its dependent zones" (p. ix). Thus the analytical framework is not the community as such, but the transformation of a semirural *município* by an expanding metropolis—São Paulo city—for which Cunha's main economic function in recent decades has been to supply foodstuffs and unskilled workers.

A major change since 1945 has been the tremendous increase in land values owing to Cunha's new satellite status. Consequently many peasants have lost their land (for want of legal title) but so have traditional *latifundiários,* and a rural bourgeoisie is rising. As the author demonstrates, social status in this urbanizing community is increasingly ambiguous, as the power of state institutions (more than federal ones) undercuts traditional authority.

This study contributes signally to a refutation of sociological dualism, a thesis explicit, for example, in Lambert's *Os dois Brasís.* Yet Shirley rejects an internal colonialism model. To the contrary he states, "The future of . . . rural Brazil lies in the continued development of its industrial cities" (p. 255). To me, however, it is not obvious that the beneficial aspects of Cunha's transformation would necessarily accrue to communities beyond the staging area of the metropolis. A holistic approach might lead to different conclusions and even raise doubts whether "other São Paulos" can arise.

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The author's demonstration of the federal government's weakness relative to the state in Cunha—both fiscally and politically—is an intriguing finding, in view of the centralization of power after the 1964 "revolution." São Paulo state is doubtless *sui generis,* but the historian is led to ask how important the central government could have been at the local level during the *Estado Nôvo* (1937–45), when São Paulo and Brazil were far less industrialized. Furthermore, if in Cunha allegiance to the state is still stronger than that to the nation (p. 108), we may ask whether economic development even now is strengthening state loyalties that will only be superseded by national ones later.

Students of modern Brazil should read this book for the issues it raises, directly and implicitly.

JOSEPH L. LOVE
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

FREDERICK M. NUNN. *Chilean Politics, 1920–1931: The Honorable Mission of the Armed Forces.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1970. Pp. x, 219. $10.00.

This work escapes being a simple coup by coup account of military intervention yet is without pretentious conceptual capers. Chile may not have had "participatory democracy before the military came to power," but, for Latin America, it has an enviable record of military subordination to civilian authority. However, the Honorable Mission's intrusion into politics was not unwarranted. The Honorable Mission's personnel, including Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, were sincerely reluctant to tamper with Chile's political apparatus. Economic debility, political irresponsibility, and corruption created an irresistible urge among young officers to act. The consequences were beyond their capacity to control.

Ibáñez was initially supported by a broad spectrum of the nation. Communists and conservative elements were exceptions. The military men accepted socialism but rejected Marxism. If this seemed paradoxical, it did not bother them, and since the Chilean Socialist party was then nascent it was no problem. When the time came in 1931 for Ibáñez and his cohorts to stack their political arms, the same consensus that had approved their thrust to power opposed its continuance. The middle sectors had become disillusioned with the military regime. It should also have been noted that the young officers of 1924–31 were themselves of middle-sector antecedents. Their intra-service opponents were the senior officers of more aristocratic antecedents. This was indicated by the struggle within the army and the navy.

This book is no crystal ball in which the fate of other "problem oriented military regimes" is projected. Still, Chile's Honorable Mission was something more than a mere *cuartelazo.* True, it failed to achieve its ends, and that may be the lesson to be learned. The Honorable Mission and subsequent governments certainly prepared the way for the incumbent Chilean government. It would have been relevant if this had been dwelled on a bit by the author, but this work was well worth reading even without any prognostications.

PHILIP J. HOUSEMAN
California State University, Humboldt

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication concerning a review be no longer than the review to which it refers and in no case longer than 500 words. Communications concerning articles or review articles may be no more than 1,000 words, and the editors reserve the right to impose a lower limit. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.

TO THE EDITOR:

Peter Loewenberg's "The Psychohistorical Origins of the Nazi Youth Cohort" (*AHR*, 76 [1971]: 1457–1502) fails in its attempt to profile an entire generation. Although the judgments expressed with regard to the emotional impact of a shared national experience are valid to a considerable extent, the many variables relating to home conditions, sibling rivalry, and the personality structure and genetic quality of individuals would have precluded anything like a scientifically confirmable result, even if scientific methodology rather than psychoanalytic and sociological theory had guided the author's work. But apart from such a self-evident and general critique, I deplore, as a historian, Loewenberg's failure to take into account certain basic political, psychological, and social considerations central to or touching upon his thesis.

Having described at some length conditions in wartime and early postwar Germany, Loewenberg suddenly brings in Austria. It seems he belatedly became aware that his analytical material and technique applied also to Germany's partner in defeat. Loewenberg concedes that the youth of all the belligerent nations suffered from absent parents, but he stresses that the absence of "German and Austrian parents" was coupled with extreme hunger and that when the German or Austrian father returned "he came in defeat and was unable to protect his family in the postwar period of unemployment and inflation. Not only was the nation defeated, but the whole political-social world was overturned. The Kaiser of Germany had fled, and the Kaiser of Austria had been deposed. . . . These national factors unique to Central Europe exacerbated the familial crisis of the absence of the parents and made of this wartime experience a generational crisis" (p. 1480). Eliciting the views of Paul Federn, Loewenberg tells us that "the Kaisers of Germany and Austria were deprived of land, throne, power, and the ability to offer a feeling of security. Thus a fatherless society was created that no longer stood in awe of the state" (p. 1489). Loewenberg, in general, lumps Austria together with Germany as sharers of a common Central European destiny, although he omits all mention of Hungary, which also lost a Kaiser (or king) and the war, as well as a far greater percentage of her ethnic territory than did either Germany or Austria.

But Hungary aside, Loewenberg made no attempt to analyze postwar events in Austria.

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Had he done so, he would have discovered that, despite some obvious parallels, Austria experienced a substantially different pattern of development as compared with Germany and, most especially, with regard to the roles played by the Nazi movement in each country. Very instructive as to the differences between political developments in Germany and Austria are the following comments of Ernst von Salomon made in reference to his stay in Vienna in 1932: "The situation in Austria was indeed singular. . . . It has been said that the Weimar Republic collapsed in 1932 because of a multiplicity of political parties scrambling for shreds of power. . . . In Austria . . . since 1918, the division had been clear-cut, black and red [clerical and socialist]. There was no doubt that Vienna was on the brink of civil war." Having spoken to an Austrian Catholic about the impending *Anschluss,* Salomon "was in despair. He [the Austrian] would not see what was coming and I could not explain it to him. He didn't know National-Socialism, nobody in Austria did; the little [Nazi] groups which had up till then formed were scarcely noticeable and had certainly no effect on Austria's internal struggle for power. How could I, a Prussian, make it clear to Spann, an Austrian, that apart from the few Austrian National-Socialists no group in Austria, no matter how much it might welcome the *Anschluss,* could possibly welcome it in this form?" (Ernst von Salomon, *The Answers* [London, 1954], 93, 101).

Loewenberg presents through the words of Harold D. Lasswell the idea that Hitler's "imagery of cleanliness and pollution of the anal phase" became a source of ersatz parental security for the youth of Germany (pp. 1484–85). This is a highly eclectic way of bolstering his thesis because it underrates the traditionally anal orientation in German psychohistory and hence its function in the psyche of persons of all ages before, during, and after the period under discussion. Hitler's "anal" rages appear to have had a great deal in common with the emotional tone of Germany's other major prophets, as indicated by Luther's constipation and Marx's hemorrhoids. One is tempted even to suggest that but for Freud's auto-erotic fantasies, Loewenberg's own article could never have been penned.

What effect did alcoholism have upon the Nazi movement? Konrad Heiden's eyewitness account of Hitler's abortive 1924 coup in Munich's Bürgerbraü Keller is instructive, especially with regard to olfactory detail. "With his storm troops at their posts, Hitler . . . stood amid the beer fumes in the crowded vestibule. . . . The crowd in the hall was not so docile. Hitler left the hall with his prisoners [Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser]. The mood grew menacing. 'Don't worry,' Göring shouted . . . 'we have the friendliest intentions, and anyway, you can be happy, you have your beer.' Meanwhile, in the adjoining room—a cold dismal place, full of beer fumes—Hitler spoke to his three prisoners in confused, jumbled snatches. [Hitler threatened them with his pistol.] They had but one choice: to fight by his side and conquer, or to die. Lossow and Seisser later testified that he staggered around the room half drunk, though he certainly had taken no alcohol." Drenched in beer fumes Hitler needed no oral intake to have been inebriated. In any case, he soon "roared at Graf: 'Get me a stein!' He wanted beer" (Konrad Heiden, *Der Fuehrer* [Cambridge, Mass., 1944], 186–88).

Despite the economic crisis of Germany, statistics for the year 1929–30 reveal that the average male over fifteen had consumed the staggering amount of 263 liters of beer (Reinhard Kraut, *Tatsachen. Alkoholnot auch heute noch* [Berlin, 1933], 3). "In contrast to other European and non-European countries," writes a contemporary researcher of the treatment of alcoholics, "Germany remains shamelessly indifferent to the problems of drunkenness. Indeed, it seems we place a premium upon drunkenness, when our laws make it a justification for lesser penalties and even of acquittal" (Hans Clausen, *Die Behandlung der Trunkenheit nach geltendem Reichsrecht* . . . [Coburg, 1928], 1). It seems to me that the huge amounts of alcohol consumed in the "capital of drunkenness," as Weimar Germany was so aptly named, should have been taken into account in any attempt to evaluate the actions of German youth. Imagine a future U.S. historian overlooking marijuana, heroin, and other drugs, as well as alcohol, in attempting to understand the young people of the current era.

STANLEY W. PAGE
City College,
City University of New York

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MR. LOEWENBERG REPLIES:

Professor Stanley W. Page is correct in saying that my work focuses on Germany, deals less with Austria, and does not engage with the problems of Hungary. I never presumed to do a comparative study, although a series of studies of comparative civilian deprivations in World War I and their aftereffects would be most welcome. Page is mistaken when he equates the political effects of a lost war and a toppled regime in Hungary with the meaning of the demise of the *Kaiserreich* for Germany. The relationship of the Hungarian nation to Kaiser Franz Josef and his Habsburg heirs is not comparable to that of the German nation to the Hohenzollerns. See, for example, the memoirs of the Austro-German centralist, Arthur Count Polzer-Hoditz, of March 6, 1915, in which he proposes to the heir apparent, Archduke Charles, the shifting of the "center of gravity" of the Empire to Budapest "to gain the political force of Hungary for the Empire" (as quoted in Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1918* [New York, 1950], 1: 391 n.86). "The Hungarian problem" was, in the words of Oscar Jaszi, "the cornerstone of the whole system" (*The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* [Chicago, 1961], 450). The differences in attachments to the prewar system between Germany and Hungary are so numerous that the two cases defy facile comparison.

Other parts of Page's letter are very difficult to take seriously. I have the feeling that he is "putting us on" when he takes me to task for underrating "the traditionally anal orientation in German psychohistory." To talk this way is very bad psychology and impossible history. All humans have oral, anal, and genital as well as other drives and drive derivatives, defenses, and sublimations at all times. What is important is how these drives are handled, how and in what form these character structures and personality modes are activated. How are they adapted to the reality demands of a historical situation? And what evidence does Page present? Not a modal personality study nor an anthropological study such as Rodnick's, which found that shortly after World War II in Germany "among all classes, toilet training begins when the infant is about five months old" (David Rodnick, *Postwar Germans: An Anthropologist's Account* [New Haven, 1948], 18). We get, instead, Luther's constipation, Marx's hemorrhoids, Freud's auto-erotic fantasies (whatever Page may mean by that), and Hitler's "anal rages." Page makes no attempt to move from the individual to the social level and from a static to a temporal historical process. The critical question in history as well as in psychology is: why now? Why this combination of events at this particular time?

Could Page possibly be serious in asking the "effect" of alcoholism upon the Nazi movement? Again, this reads like a bad joke. The massive and habitual use of alcohol, just as with the abuse of narcotics, is a defense against anxiety, a means of coping with inner stress and tension. The appropriate historical question is: what were people so anxious about that they drank so much?

Page's questions leave out the entire historical dimensions of actions and events that are time specific. To say that a nation is oral or anal will not take one far. All peoples have always been subject to phase specific developmental drives. But to work at showing a relationship between when a culture historically became sadistic due to a time specific regression to an early period of oral deprivation may begin to get us somewhere.

PETER LOEWENBERG
University of California, Los Angeles

TO THE EDITOR:

Alas. In his review of Carl Binger's *Thomas Jefferson: A Well-Tempered Mind* (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 204–05), Mr. James L. Bugg, Jr. wrote that Jefferson's "well-balanced personality was a fortunate blend of masculine and feminine traits." Masculine traits accounted for Jefferson's "aggressive characteristics, his executive ability, the remarkable precision of his mind," while feminine traits "determined his esthetic and artistic temperament, his tenderness and concern for others [!], his sensitivity and shyness, and his love of solitude."

Now really, this is ridiculous. One need not be a "women's libber" to be pulled up short by

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the sexual ascription of these "traits," most ludicrously the type-casting of females for tenderness, sensitivity, shyness, and (the most universal nonmale characteristic of all, I am sure) love of solitude.

If these are Mr. Binger's views, Mr. Bugg does his readers a disservice in not probing a historical work based upon such assumptions. If the views are Mr. Bugg's, then he has done a disservice not only to shy men and precision-minded women, but, indeed, to all.

FREDERICK H. SCHMIDT
College of William and Mary

MR. BUGG REPLIES:

As I have already indicated in my review, the "views" to which Mr. Schmidt refers are those of the author. My assignment as the reviewer was to summarize, insofar as I could within a seven-hundred-word limitation, the principal theses of the two authors. Rather than devote the allocated space to a critique of the positions of the authors, with whom I have disagreements, I chose to state their respective positions, point to their common characteristics, and leave it to the reader to decide whether he wished to read the books. If so, he can make up his own mind on their validity. To have done otherwise would have been, in my judgment, a "disservice" to both the authors and to the reader.

I do not concur with the particular thesis of Mr. Binger, but to have developed rationally and fully the reasons for my disagreements would have required a longer review than I was requested to write unless, like Mr. Schmidt, I had chosen to indulge in such meaningless and unscholarly adjectives as "ridiculous" and ludicrous. To have adopted such a procedure might have been clever but hardly equitable or rational and would have represented, in my judgment, the real "disservice."

JAMES L. BUGG, JR.
Old Dominion University

The following letters have been received in connection with the publication of Jacques Barzun's article, "History: The Muse and Her Doctors," AHR, *77 (1972): 36–64.*

TO THE EDITOR:

Jacques Barzun's article does scant justice to recent developments in the field of psychohistory. Although he expresses solicitude for the methodological problems of psychohistory, he sheds very little light on this important subject. He has consulted the wrong sources. How he could consider David Donald, Stanley Elkins, and Harry Barnard psychohistorians is beyond my understanding. Their work neither reflects the methodology of psychohistory nor the progress that has been made in this discipline over the past few years. In order to understand the nature of psychohistory one must read, for example, the contributions of Peter Loewenberg, Robert G. L. Waite, John Demos, and Fred Weinstein. Contrary to Mr. Barzun's introductory remarks (pp. 36–39), psychohistory is a new discipline. While it is true that many methodological issues remain unresolved, his assertion that no "methodological procedure" is apparent in psychohistory is without foundation. Such an assertion rests on a cursory, selective, and jaundiced appraisal of the available literature.

Barzun maintains that the "technical jargon [of psychohistory] does not add to understanding" (p. 63). He contends that psychohistory merely restates in technical language what historians have always known. This objection is invalid. Concepts such as sublimation, reaction-formation, identification, the self, character defense, etc., have specialized meanings that incorporate new insights into personality functioning. It is time for historians to understand this.

Even though Barzun does raise some fundamental questions concerning psychohistory, problems related to the historian's choice of psychological theory, and his selection and evaluation of evidence, Barzun's treatment of these issues is fragmentary, superficial, and obscurantist. If we are to strive for simplicity, stability, and consensus in the writing of history, as Barzun suggests that we should, then we necessarily lose sight of important dimensions of human life that cannot be encompassed within this innocent philosophy of history. Instead of writing for a book-of-the-month-club audience, we should strive to communicate our insights,

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in their full complexity, to whomever will listen. Life is full of ambivalence, complexity, and irresolution; unless we come to grips with this reality we fail in our essential task as historians.

JOHN J. FITZPATRICK
University of California, Berkeley

TO THE EDITOR:

My long-standing concern with the bearings of modern psychology on the treatment of historical subjects led me to read Mr. Barzun's lengthy analysis twice over and with considerable care. Yet I am still not clear as to the cause or causes of the author's unhappiness. His objective seems to be to deflate the notion of "psycho-history." He does not like the term. Neither do I. More important, he denounces all efforts to establish it as "a new discipline," a "new genre." He ridicules the effort to apply "new methods rejuvenating history" and "to create new fields by using new methods." He obviously considers me the prime mover in this nefarious enterprise, despite the fact that I never contemplated any such effort. On the contrary, I would deplore any further fragmentation of history, and I have long preached the need for greater synthesis. I cannot, of course, speak for the many scholars, mostly younger men and women, who are now taking an active interest in the application of modern psychological concepts to the elucidation of historical characters and situations, that is, in "psycho-history." But I do not recall having ever heard any of them advance such extravagant notions as Mr. Barzun attributes to them.

Mr. Barzun, while constantly talking about "history," actually devotes most of his essay to biography, a form of literature in which, as we all know, the usefulness of the psychological approach has long since been recognized and demonstrated. His attention to really historical problems is almost completely confined to the modest attempt I made, some fifteen years ago, to determine the possible psychological and spiritual impact of a major human catastrophe such as the Black Death of the fourteenth century. He quickly comes to the startling conclusion that all I had to say had long been known and that the use of psychoanalytic concepts amounted to little more than the substitution of a newfangled terminology for good old English words. Had I only known how easy the solution of the problem was, I would certainly have appealed to Mr. Barzun for help before spending time and effort on it. It may interest Mr. Barzun to know, if he is not already aware of it, that European scholars are still wrestling with such questions as that of the influence of the Black Death on the development of religious dissent and protest through Wyclif and Hus to Luther and the Reformation.

Mr. Barzun underlines and emphasizes what most of us have known for a long time, namely that from the beginnings of historiography among the Greeks to the present day there have been men with a keen intuitive understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of human nature. He makes great play with the fact that a major historian such as Karl Lamprecht urged in the early years of the century that more attention should be paid to psychology by historians. He might well have added that Eduard Bernheim, in his great *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (8th ed., 1908), discussed the importance of the psychological factor in history at considerable length.

These men, naturally, were talking in terms of the psychology of their day. They knew nothing of the Freudian doctrine and the variants that derived from it, that is, nothing of the theories that have revealed much of the unconscious and irrational forces of history. Mr. Barzun objects to the fact that the "psycho-historians" tend to put all their eggs into the Freudian basket, although I made a point in my address that historians need have no commitment to any particular brand of history, but should use whatever promised to help them in solving their problems. If the Freudian doctrine is still preferred, it is chiefly because it alone provides a coherent theory of personality development. It does not advance formulas or attempt conclusions, but it tries to show the wide variety of unconsciously determined reactions to external events and the many defense mechanisms to which human nature resorts.

It is generally recognized, I think, that over the past decades psychoanalysis has influenced

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profoundly not only psychiatry, but the entire field of the arts and many of the social sciences, notably anthropology. In short, it has forced a revision of traditional views of man and society. The historians alone, among the social scientists, have until recently been loath to take into account unconscious and irrational forces. Many now recognize that the application of psychoanalytic (or related) concepts may throw light not only on individuals of historical importance, but on major mass movements and changing attitudes. Admittedly all these efforts are only in the beginning; admittedly they bristle with difficulties; admittedly they have as yet produced no resounding success. There is no question here of establishing a new discipline but simply of exploring a new approach to problems, many of which have long puzzled the historian. After all, there is no reason why, where the sources and the evidence permit, the student should not weigh the psychological as well as the economic, military, religious, or other components of a historical problem. It is regrettable, to put it mildly, that a scholar of Mr. Barzun's standing should devote a long essay to the effort to disparage the experiment and that he should becloud the issue by constantly confusing biography and history.

The most baffling part of Mr. Barzun's essay comes in the concluding paragraphs, where he seems to be prepared to eat his own words. "I would close," he writes, "by suggesting that no one should prejudge the results of psycho-history and its siblings. Nothing I have said or implied about them is such a prejudgment or goes to the matter of the potential usefulness of their projected gains." If these are indeed Mr. Barzun's real sentiments, the reader is entitled to ask why it was necessary to plow through twenty-eight pages of platitudes, insinuations, and charges. However, if Mr. Barzun is prepared to reverse himself, I for one will raise no objection.

WILLIAM L. LANGER
Harvard University

TO THE EDITOR:

It is difficult to reason with those, like Professor Barzun, who presume to tell the rest of the profession what is and what is not history. I will limit myself to two questions.

William James was a profound observer of human phenomena, including religious experience, habit, and many others. However, to tell us, as Barzun does, that James's work of 1890, *Principles of Psychology*, is "the classic of psychology perhaps most useful to the historian and biographer" (p. 51 n.31), is quite another matter. Are we to infer that all that has been developed in the clinical practice and theory of psychology in the last eight decades is of less value to the modern historian than the work of James? This may be so for Barzun, but it is not so for many of us who wish to live in the twentieth century. Novelty is certainly no criterion of value. It is equally faddish to cling only to the "classics." Some new things have been learned in human psychology since 1890, including of course the insights of Sigmund Freud, who developed the initial theories of psychoanalysis from 1895 to 1899, theories that William James treated with respect. "The future of psychology belongs to your work" James told Ernest Jones in 1909 (Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 2: *Years of Maturity, 1901–1919* [New York, 1955], 57). Much has developed in both clinical technique and theory since those early decades. Historians are obviously free to neglect these developments. But I wonder whether Barzun would also use the anthropology or the linguistics of 1890 as his research models? Or, more to the point, would he select for his family a surgeon, a pediatrician, or a gynecologist whose thought had not developed in eighty-two years?

Barzun concludes his essay with the injunction, with which I concur, that "histories and biographies should always be rewritten. Each viewer remakes a past in keeping with his powers of search and vision, whose defects readily disclose themselves in his work" (p. 61). If this is so for history, why does Barzun not allow for the same relativism and evolution in psychology? Just as we are now in a different world, with its own psychological and historical perspectives, than were the men and women of 1890, so those who write history and psychology in the year 2050 will have their own position in history and accompanying unique perspectives on it. They will also have other psychological theories than we do. We cannot

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know what kinds of synthetic history they will write. Why then is Barzun so concerned with the "permanence" of history and the "vogue" of psychology? The nature of both science and history is that the researcher commits himself to what appears to be the most probable hypothesis at the time. The test is whether the theory indeed leads him to new relationships and data. If it does—and not even Barzun will deny that depth psychology has illuminated institutional life and personal biography with new richness, complexity, and insight—can one reasonably ask for more?

PETER LOEWENBERG
University of California, Los Angeles

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Recent Deaths

GERAINT N. D. EVANS, associate professor of history at Richmond College of the City University of New York, died in an automobile accident on December 29, 1971, near Laguna Beach, California. Only thirty-six years old at the time of his death, Evans had already compiled a remarkable record as a student of the old British Empire and in the process had become a striking symbol of Anglo-American scholarship.

Born in Wales, educated at Trinity College, London, and at Cambridge University (B.A., M.A.), Geraint Evans early developed an interest in the history of North America and thus came to the United States to further his studies under Lawrence Henry Gipson at Lehigh (M.A.) and under Robin W. Winks at Yale, where he earned his third master's degree and his Ph.D. In the course of his studies he held fellowships from Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. His teaching career proved equally Anglo-American: Malvern College in England, McGill University in Canada, and Lafayette College, Southern Illinois University, Chapman College, and Richmond College in this country—thus spanning the nation from coast to coast. At each campus his restless enthusiasm, exacting standards, and uncompromising candor awed his students and colleagues but also earned their respect and in most cases their affection. In his first and only year at Southern Illinois the senior class voted him one of three outstanding teachers. At Chapman College in California, where he served as visiting professor in 1970–71, Evans so impressed his fellow historians that they sought to keep him as a permanent member of the staff. At Richmond College, his longest and last post, Evans specialized in American colonial and revolutionary history and American Studies, served as deputy chairman of the division of social sciences, and was elected the first secretary of the college faculty. He also found time to participate in innumerable professional organizations, including the Canadian Association for American Studies (president, 1964–66), the American Studies Association (he was president of the New York City branch from 1969 to 1970), and the Columbia University Seminar on Early American History and Culture. He published several books and articles, perhaps the most significant being *Uncommon Obdurate: The Public Careers of J. F. W. DesBarres* (1969). He had recently begun work on a history of Canada, to be aimed at American readers, and an edition of a newly uncovered diary of an American loyalist.

With the death of Geraint Evans the profession lost an accomplished scholar, an inspiring teacher, a warm friend, and a young man of awesome energy.

ALDEN T. VAUGHAN
Columbia University

GUSTAVE EDMUND VON GRUNEBAUM, professor of Near Eastern history and director of the UCLA Near Eastern Center, died in Los Angeles on February 27, 1972, after a two-month illness. The wide-ranging interests, accomplishments, and intelligence of Professor von Grunebaum were matched by his human sympathy and understanding, and his departure leaves a gap that is impossible to fill.

Professor von Grunebaum was born in Vienna on September 1, 1909. He received his doctorate with honors from the University of Vienna in 1931, and then did postdoctoral work at the University of Berlin. To a child-

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hood mastery of English and French he later added a command of Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek, and classical culture, and a university-acquired knowledge of the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and other Near Eastern languages and cultures. To his linguistic and literary knowledge he joined a broad understanding of human society that encompassed many of the usual academic disciplines, including history, anthropology, philosophy, and religion. The originality of his mind combined with indefatigable scholarship and an almost photographic memory to lay the foundation for an outstanding series of scholarly books and articles. His scholarly production was equaled by his teaching excellence, his human wit and warmth, and his unparalleled abilities as an organizer and administrator.

Professor von Grunebaum's first book, on early Arabic poetry, was published in German in 1937. Leaving Vienna when the Nazis came in 1938 he taught at the Asia Institute in New York as assistant professor from 1938 to 1942 and as chairman of the department of Arabic in 1942–43. From there he went to the University of Chicago, where he served as assistant professor of Arabic (1943–46), associate professor (1946–49), and professor (1949–57). He came to UCLA as professor of history and director of the newly-formed Near Eastern Center in the fall of 1957.

At UCLA Professor von Grunebaum carried out a multifaceted activity that was the envy of his colleagues. With the encouragement of the UCLA administration he built up a large Near Eastern Center that soon came to rank among the very best in the world. With his wide reading and frequent far-flung travels he came to meet or know about talented individuals in all parts of the world and in all stages of their careers. Free of prejudices regarding nationality, intellectual approach, university origin, or sex, he was able to recommend to the various departments that ultimately made employment decisions a multitalented group of individuals, the vast majority of whom came to and stayed at UCLA. For the UCLA history department he was also able to discover scholars of various nationalities outside the Near Eastern field, and his presence helped attract noted scholars to the department.

To the UCLA Near Eastern Center Professor von Grunebaum was able to bring visiting professors and lecturers of distinction and an increasing number of talented students, both groups coming from many lands. Always ready to listen to the problems and advice of others he could reserve final decisions to himself, confident of the general validity of his own judgments. He created a center free of factions and personal animosities and characterized by a spirit of mutual cooperation, friendship, and respect. He sponsored a series of international conferences and created the Levi Della Vida Conference and award in Islamic Studies given biannually at UCLA, the papers of which he also edited (1970, 1971).

After a full day at the university, promptly answering a voluminous correspondence, teaching, seeing students and colleagues, and doing more than his share of committee work, Professor von Grunebaum turned at night and on weekends to the scholarly production that never let up in quantity or quality. Having already written *Medieval Islam* (1946), *Islam* (1955), and several other books before coming to UCLA, he went on to write *Modern Islam* (1962), *Classical Islam* (1970), and others after arriving here. Taking a total cultural approach to the civilization of medieval and modern Islam he was able to elucidate the interaction of various elements in Islamic society and to compare them with classical antiquity, medieval Byzantium and Europe, and the modern West. Always full of original ideas, his books, like his knowledge, transcend the usual academic disciplines and fall into no easily definable categories. While centering on his lifelong interest in medieval Islamic civilization, his writings sometimes ranged far afield into such topics as African literature and, in his last years, the history of the human imagination, on which he was organizing a conference in 1972. He was especially the master of the short idea-centered essay, and many of his books consist of such interrelated essays. In his last years, on the other hand, he was working on a full-scale survey of Islam as a religion. His works reflect his knowledge of all the subfields of Islamic studies and his rich imagination. Several of his books have been translated into various languages, and his scholarly reputation is worldwide. In addition to his own books and articles he edited a series of books based pri-

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marily on the multidisciplinary international conferences he sponsored, of which *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization* (1955) and *The Dream and Human Societies* (1966) may be mentioned as representative examples.

Serving on the boards of numerous national and international organizations and journals, he was president of the American Research Center in Egypt since 1966, editor in chief of the *Bibliothek des Morgenlandes* (Switzerland), and coeditor of *Studia Islamica* since 1971. His academic honors, like his other activities, are too numerous to mention here, where it will only be noted that he was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the American Philosophical Society. He was Faculty Research Lecturer at UCLA, and he received honorary doctorates from the University of Frankfurt and Hebrew Union College as well as being elected to the Institut d'Egypte in Cairo. He was also one of the few non-Italian fellows of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

In personal relationships, after an initial shyness and reserve, he showed himself to be warm and friendly, ever willing to listen to personal or academic problems and to offer sympathy and advice. His sparkling wit and humor surfaced in the most casual, as well as the most serious, conversation, but was rarely exercised at the expense of others, however distant they might be. He liked to keep his own counsel about his personal and academic plans and activities and to make his own decisions, but he sought out and carefully considered the advice of those whose opinions he respected.

He was able to turn his full attention from one activity to another, from a complex and tiring international trip to a minor problem, from administration to teaching and scholarship, and from serious affairs to light banter, without missing a beat. Very rarely manifesting worry or anger, he scarcely discussed his own problems or achievements, while reacting with support and interest to those of others. An unfailingly interesting conversationalist and lecturer, his talk ranged from the mundane and particular to the most esoteric and abstract of subjects.

Professor von Grunebaum leaves behind his devoted and extraordinary wife Giselle, his two daughters, Claudia and Tessa, and his grieving students and colleagues both at UCLA and throughout the scholarly world. He was a man of genius, warmth, optimism, multifaceted talents, indefatigable energy, and unparalleled achievements.

NIKKI R. KEDDIE
University of California, Los Angeles

ALBERT DENNIS KIRWAN, scholar, university administrator, and former football coach, died suddenly on November 30, 1971. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky, on December 22, 1904, attended the public schools of that city, and in 1926 received the bachelor's degree at the University of Kentucky, where he was a star football player. Returning to Louisville as a teacher and a coach, he attained such outstanding success in the latter capacity that he was made head football coach at the University of Kentucky in 1938, a position he held for a half-dozen years.

An invitation, during World War II, to teach part time in the department of history of the University of Kentucky led him to a decision to abandon his career as coach and commit himself to historical scholarship. After receiving his M.A. in 1945 at the University of Louisville and his Ph.D. at Duke University in 1947, he returned once again to the University of Kentucky as associate professor of history and dean of men. Two years later he became dean of students, a position he held until 1955, when he resigned in order to devote full time to history.

His first book, *Revolt of the Rednecks,* had been published in 1951, and now, freed from administrative duties, he plunged enthusiastically into research and teaching. He edited two volumes, *Johnny Green of the Orphan Brigade* (1956) and *The Confederacy* (1959), while he worked on his prize-winning biography, *John J. Crittenden: The Struggle for the Union* (1962).

His reputation as a scholar and an administrator made him a logical choice for the position of dean of the graduate school, a position to which he was appointed in 1960. For six highly successful years he presided over the most marked period of improvement in quality and expansion of programs, enrollment, and support that has been known in graduate edu-

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cation at the University of Kentucky. His return to full-time teaching in 1966 was short lived, for in 1968 he agreed to become acting president of the university. His administrative ability, his good judgment, his calmness, and his solid reputation for fairness were never more needed than during the months he filled this office, months when the institution was the subject of attack from within and without. In 1969, when a president was chosen and the acting presidency came to an end, the board of trustees paid tribute to Dr. Kirwan by designating him, retroactively, as the seventh president of the university.

Once again in the history department Dr. Kirwan looked forward to devoting the remainder of his active life to scholarship and teaching. He had published, with Thomas D. Clark, *The South Since Appomatox* (1967), and in the following year he was editor of *The Civilization of the Old South: Excerpts from the Writings of Clement Eaton*. His last writing to appear in print is a section on the Civil War in *Kentucky: A Pictorial History* (1971), edited by J. Winston Coleman, Jr. At the time of his death Professor Kirwan had completed research for a biography of Henry Clay.

No mere listing of publications and positions can reveal the services Professor Kirwan rendered to his profession and to his university, community, and state. He was the recipient of numerous honors and awards, including a Guggenheim fellowship, 1960–61; a Fulbright lectureship at the University of Vienna, 1966–67; and the Charles S. Sydnor Prize of the Southern Historical Association for his biography of Crittenden. On his own campus he won an alumni award for teaching and another for research, he was elected Hallam Professor of History (1967–69), and he was chosen by his colleagues in the College of Arts and Sciences as Distinguished Professor for the academic year 1967–68.

He was a diligent scholar, a gifted teacher, a wise administrator, and a considerate friend. All who knew him will long recall his warm personality, his kindness, and his deep enjoyment of life.

To perpetuate his memory, the Albert D. Kirwan Memorial Fund has been established at the University of Kentucky under the care of the University Development Office. A decision as to the nature of the memorial has not yet been reached.

JAMES F. HOPKINS
University of Kentucky

MACY J. MARGOLIS, the coordinator of research services at the Boston Public Library, died suddenly on January 28, 1972, at the age of forty. A graduate of Boston University, from which he also received a master's degree in 1952, Mr. Margolis served in the United States Army as a Russian language specialist from 1952 to 1955. He then returned to the Boston Public Library, where he had begun working as a page in 1945. Mr. Margolis combined his career in the library's history department with advanced study, receiving a master's degree in library science from Simmons College in 1959. In 1967 he was promoted to the position of coordinator of research services, a position in which he gave invaluable service in plans being made for the development and strengthening of the collections of the research library services. Mr. Margolis is survived by his wife Esther and their three sons.

ROBERT L. MELKA died in a fishing accident on Lake Michigan on December 29, 1971. Dr. Melka was born in Chicago on July 1, 1932, and spent his early years in Minnesota. He pursued a deep interest in history and diplomacy with training at the College of St. Thomas, the Université de Grenoble, and Georgetown University. He received his M.A. from the latter in 1958. Dr. Melka interrupted his studies to serve with the U.S. Army in Germany. He returned to the United States to continue his academic career at the University of Minnesota, where he earned the Ph.D. degree in 1966. Dr. Melka taught at Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh, from 1965 to 1970. He joined the department of history at Hope College in September 1970. He had only begun to publish his extensive research on World War II at the time of his death.

The editors of *Societas* have established a national award in Dr. Melka's name. The department of history of Hope College has created a Robert L. Melka Memorial Fund.

HENRY BAMFORD PARKES died in New York on January 7, 1972, after a protracted illness. A

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few months earlier he had retired from New York University, where he had been on the faculty since 1930. Born in Sheffield, England, on November 13, 1904, the son of a Methodist minister, Parkes attended Oxford on a scholarship and received his B.A. in 1927. In that year he came to the United States, where he completed his Ph.D. at the University of Michigan in 1929. His dissertation on Jonathan Edwards, published in 1930, testified to an interest in intellectual history and the special qualities of American evolution that would occupy him for the rest of his life.

Parkes's second major publication, however, represented something of a diversion. An opportunity to visit Mexico at a time when he was deeply interested in radicalism resulted in *A History of Mexico* (1938), which, despite criticisms for its leftist tone, was praised for its readability and accuracy. Although it has been revised only slightly, it remains the most satisfactory popular history of Mexico in English.

Marxism, an Autopsy (1939) signified for Parkes a partial renunciation of radical solutions as he offered a realistic appraisal of Marx that was regarded as seminal and distinctive. A textbook, *Recent America* (1941), received compliments for its soundness and its mordant and witty style.

In *The American Experience* (1947) Parkes emphasized the agrarian tradition as fostering freedom and equality, in contrast to the degrading effects of industrialization. A few historians who disagreed with his thesis acknowledged that his views were often original and penetrating. David M. Potter praised the 1955 revision as an outstanding interpretive work by a richly informed mind, a trenchant and most important book. Parkes's textbook, *The United States of America* (1953), was comprehensive but also primarily interpretive, favoring the Democrats, and it was widely used. Reinhold Niebuhr described it as "a masterpiece of scholarship and wisdom."

Always reaching for new meanings, Parkes turned to the history of Western thought and culture. Two books of his projected series, *Gods and Men* (1959) and *The Divine Order* (1969), became best sellers. His third volume on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not completed at the time he was stricken. Parkes stressed the connection between freedom and creativity and the social significance of art. He held that mankind was happiest while developing and accepting myths or ideologies, and that it suffered chaos, war, and tyranny when consensus was undermined. His interpretations, bold but not smug, rested on enormous learning, and his style, always lively, was at its most stimulating in these final works.

Henry Parkes was always a popular teacher at New York University, whether he presented intellectual history, United States foreign policy, or the development of Latin America. He enjoyed lecturing to huge classes. After Parkinson's disease weakened his voice he offered only seminars. Here he also excelled, with his gentle and probing manner drawing the best out of his students. In the last course he gave the students accorded him in an evaluation the highest rating. A speed reader of prodigious skill, he supervised countless theses, caring little for pedantry but demanding that the writers show a grasp of the larger implications of their topics. He was exacting and yet infinitely patient.

As author of numerous articles, often on topical subjects, visiting lecturer in various institutions, and editor of a formidable list of books, Parkes also exerted wide influence. Among his achievements was his founding and direction of the American Civilization Program at New York University, in which he united his historical and literary interests. A deceptively casual administrator with an offhand manner who threw out his files at the end of the year, he nonetheless provided the essentials of his responsibility: a sound curriculum, high standards, rigorous examination, and placement. A shy and immensely attractive personality, he leaves many grateful friends and an impressive legacy as a historian.

JOHN EDWIN FAGG
New York University

RAYMOND DE ROOVER, professor of history at Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, suffered a fatal cerebral hemorrhage at his home in Brooklyn on Tuesday morning, March 14, 1972. His sudden death brought to a premature close a career of outstanding merit in his chosen fields of economic history. He had concerned himself largely with the history of money, banking, and price controls, and with

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industrial, commercial, and business enterprises and organizations, which he had carefully traced back to their medieval development.

De Roover was born on August 28, 1904, in Antwerp, Belgium, where he completed his early training at the École Supérieure de Commerce. He came to the United States and continued his studies at the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration and at the University of Chicago, where he received his Ph.D. in 1943. He began his teaching career at Wells College and later went on to Illinois College and Boston College. He held visiting professorships at Oberlin College and the University of California at Berkeley. In 1961 he came to Brooklyn as professor of history both in the college and in the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. At the latter he was in charge of a colloquium in medieval economic history and, at the time of his death, was directing several doctoral candidates.

Raymond de Roover was an unusually productive scholar. Among his most significant works were *The Medici Bank* (1948), *Money, Banking, and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges* (1948), and *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397–1494* (1963). In addition he contributed to numerous scholarly journals, books, and works of reference in America, Belgium, England, and France, and he served as advisory editor for *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*. He further served locally as president of the Medieval Club of New York and he participated in the Columbia University Seminars on the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and Legal and Political Thought. He also participated in various international economic congresses, the most recent of which were the International Economic Congresses held at Munich in 1965 and at Leningrad in 1970.

Throughout the entire span of his academic career Raymond de Roover's zealous application to his studies won almost immediate recognition and continuing support in the form of grants and fellowships. Among these were a Fulbright fellowship and fellowships and grants from the Belgian Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society, the Social Science Research Council, the City University of New York, and the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. The prizes and honors he received were numerous and varied. Beginning with the James Bowdoin Graduate Prize for his essay on "The Florentine Woolen Industry" in 1938, he went on to garner the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize awarded by the American Historical Association in 1948 for his *Medici Bank*, the Charles Homer Haskins Gold Medal, granted to him in 1950 by the Mediaeval Academy of America for his book *Money, Banking, and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges*, and the Robert Troup Paine Prize, given by the Harvard University Press, for his *Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397–1494*. Moreover, in fitting tribute to his contributions to scholarship he was elected honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa by the Wells College chapter and, in 1952, a foreign member of the Royal Flemish Academy of Sciences, Letters, and Fine Arts. In 1969, in what he considered his crowning achievement, he was knighted by royal decree of H. M. King Baudouin I of Belgium as Knight-Officer of the Order of the Crown. His most recent honor was that of election in 1970 as Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America. At every stage of his remarkably successful career Raymond de Roover never failed to acknowledge his indebtedness to his wife, Florence Edler, a scholar of merit in her own right, who survives him.

For his colleagues, friends, and students, to whom he endeared himself by the contagion of his ebullient spirit, his enthusiastic concern for scholarly excellence, and his friendly, open, and kindly nature, Raymond de Roover's sudden departure leaves a void that cannot soon be filled. Yet none of them can say that he is not the richer because Raymond de Roover was once nearby.

PEARL KIBRE
Graduate Center,
City University of New York

When RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK expressed the wish nearly fifty years ago to study the history of American public health for his doctoral dissertation he was told firmly that the subject, though interesting, was not "history." When he died this winter, the history of medicine was a recognized academic discipline with university

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departments and chairs, a national association, two journals, and other evidences of acceptance. In that development none played a larger part than he or made more distinguished and permanent contributions to both the content and the institutions of the subject.

Born in Philadelphia on March 29, 1893, Shryock attended Philadelphia Central High School, the Philadelphia School of Pedagogy, and the University of Pennsylvania School of Education, graduating in 1917. After war service in the Army Medical School he commenced graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania. He was John Bach McMaster's last assistant in 1919–20, but it was Edward P. Cheyney who encouraged his interest in the history of public health and social aspects of medicine. But Shryock was "in" American history, and, instead of public health, he wrote on Georgia and the federal union in 1850, for which he received his doctorate in 1924.

One of the sources for his dissertation was the letters of Dr. Richard D. Arnold of Savannah. These sustained Shryock's interest in medicine; he edited and published them in 1929 and in the next few years published several articles on medical history. In 1936 appeared *The Development of Modern Medicine,* a work of deep and original scholarship but so unconventional that its publisher hazarded only a small printing and the *American Historical Review* passed it over. Five years later, however, when the book had appeared in a German translation, the *Review* noticed it. Declaring it "high time to call attention to this notable work," the reviewer pronounced it "an invaluable contribution to social history, drawing together, correlating, and clarifying in masterly fashion a complicated and difficult body of material" (*AHR,* 46 [1940–41]: 605). Most of that material was European. In all his subsequent writing, most of it on American history, Shryock never failed to set his story against a broader, European background.

Shryock taught at Duke University from 1925 to 1938 and at Pennsylvania until 1949, when he became director of the Institute of the History of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University. Retiring in 1958 he returned to Philadelphia as professor at the University of Pennsylvania and librarian of the American Philosophical Society. In the latter position his influence was imaginative and liberating. In addition he served on many professional boards and committees—the National Historical Publications Commission, the National Portrait Gallery Commission, the Institute of Early American History, and the History of Medicine Study Section of the National Institutes of Health, among others. He was president of the History of Science Society and the American Association for the History of Medicine, and he received the principal award of each. He served as president of both the American and International Associations of University Professors. He retired from the University of Pennsylvania in 1963 and from the American Philosophical Society in 1965: it gave him a quiet pleasure to reflect that he was thrice an emeritus—of Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, and the Society.

All the while he was writing steadily. He was the author of *American Medical Research* (1947), *Cotton Mather, First Significant Figure in American Medicine* (1953), *The Unique Influence of The Johns Hopkins University on American Medicine* (1953), *Medicine and Society in America* (1960), as well as of scores of articles. The January 1968 issue of the *Journal of the History of Medicine* contains his bibliography to that date. He corrected the proofs of "The Medical Reputation of Benjamin Rush: Contrasts over Two Centuries" for the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (45 [1971]: 507–52) shortly before his death, which occurred while he was on vacation at Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on January 30, 1972.

As a historian of medicine and science, Shryock addressed himself to questions of their interrelations with politics, society, and economics. The subtitle of *The Development of Modern Medicine* was *An Interpretation of the Social and Scientific Factors Involved.* Knowing more medicine than historians or sociologists and having better historical training than any physician, Shryock saw the past in all its variety and complexity, illuminated contemporary problems with historical insights, and asked more questions than he answered. Tolerant by nature and skeptical by training, he constantly explored and probed. He had enough ideas to have founded several

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"schools," but he suspected that all schools perpetuate half-truths; and, though he had many students, he had no "disciples."

He used statistics from the days of his earliest research, and in 1960 he organized and conducted a conference on the history of quantification. He sought the company of sociologists and psychologists, and he enriched his own work with understandings drawn from their disciplines. Though not a "revisionist," he held many unorthodox views: he examined every cliché, whether the influence of the frontier, the flowering of New England, or the benefits of federal union; he could write, for example, that "we should guard against the assumption that all major outcomes in the American past must have been for the best." The quality of Shryock's mind and the nature of his contribution are perhaps best revealed in the essays collected and published in *Medicine in America* (1966).

WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.
American Philosophical Society

DALE ALAN SOMERS (1939–72), associate professor of urban history at Georgia State University, died of cancer in Houston, Texas, on March 27. He had begun to make his mark in historical scholarship with articles in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, the *Journal of Popular Culture*, and *Louisiana History*. His first book, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850–1900* (1972), was published on the eve of his death. Professor Somers was a very popular teacher who enjoyed great respect from his colleagues for his personal integrity and high standards of scholarship. As president of the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors, he worked fearlessly for faculty rights and was known and appreciated by the faculty and administration for his humor, wit, and forthrightness. Born in Galveston, Texas, he attended Southwest Texas State College and Trinity University. In 1966 he received his Ph.D. from Tulane University. He taught at the University of Kentucky and East Texas State University before joining the faculty at Georgia State University in 1968.

Other members of the association who have died recently include: W. W. Bailey of Alexandria, Virginia; George A. Boyd of Middletown, New York; Eugene P. Chase of Hebron, Connecticut; M. D. Condon of Rolling Hills, California; M. Contopoulos of Jackson Heights, New York; L. Corning, Jr., of San Antonio, Texas; J. A. Fiorentino of Trenton, New Jersey; C. Warren Griffiths of Wilmington College in Wilmington, Ohio; Colonel Edward P. Hamilton of Milton, Massachusetts; E. H. Heintzen of Springfield, Illinois; E. S. Hoyt of Montreat, North Carolina; Donald R. McVeigh of Hyattsville, Maryland; Félix Martí-Ibáñez of New York, New York; Frank S. Meyer of Woodstock, New York; Ludwell L. Montague of Ware Neck, Virginia; Robert Cornelius Murray, former senior master at the Riverdale Country School, Riverdale, New York; Coen Gallatin Pierson of Illinois State University in Normal; Robert G. Ramsay of Orange, California; J. H. Rubenstein, an instructor at Kalamazoo Valley Community College in Kalamazoo, Michigan; Cortland V. Smith of Louisburg, North Carolina; and F. S. Wise of Bolivar, Missouri.

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Association Notes

Dr. Charlotte Alison Quinn has been appointed special assistant to the AHA's Committee on Women Historians for the year 1972–73. A specialist in African history, Dr. Quinn, author of *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia* (1972), received the Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1967. In her new post Dr. Quinn succeeds Dr. Dorothy Rabin Ross, who has joined the department of history at Princeton as assistant professor.

Mrs. Janet Croly Hayman, assistant editor of the *AHA Newsletter* for the past year, has now been appointed as an assistant editor of the *AHR* as well.

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Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

BERLIN, CHARLES, editor. *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History, and Literature in honor of I. Edward Kiev.* New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc. 1971. Pp. 587. $25.00.

SALO W. BARON, A Collection of Hebrew-Latin Aphorisms by a Christian Hebraist. ABRAHAM BERGER, Approaches to Rabbi Nachman and His Tales. CHARLES BERLIN, A Sixteenth-Century Hebrew Chronicle of the Ottoman Empire: The *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* of Elijah Capsali and Its Message. GEORGE L. BERLIN, The Jewish Labor Committee and American Immigration Policy in the 1930's. WILLIAM G. BRAUDE, Maimonides' Attitude to Midrash. ARTHUR A. CHIEL, Ezra Stiles and the Polish Rabbi. MARTIN A. COHEN, The Rebellions during the Reign of David: An Inquiry into Social Dynamics in Ancient Israel. PHILIP GOODMAN, Jewish Bookplate Literature: An Annotated Bibliography. ALFRED GOTTSCHALK, Ahad Ha-Am as Biblical Critic—A Profile. Y. KANTOR, translated and annonated by A. A. GREENBAUM, Some Notes and Conclusions about the Published Totals of the Soviet Census of January 15, 1959. JOSEPH GUTMANN, Jewish Ceremonial Art: A Basic Bibliography. JACOB KABAKOFF, S. B. Schwarzberg (1865–1929)—Hebrew Publisher and Bibliographer. NATHAN M. KAGANOFF, Supplement III: Judaica Americana Printed before 1851. GUIDO KISCH, An Innovator of Haggadah Illustration—Cyril Kutlik. MOSES MARX, A Bibliography of Hebrew Printing in Dyhernfurth, 1689–1718. ISIDORE S. MEYER, The Hebrew Exercises of Governor William Bradford. MICHAEL A. MEYER, Christian Influence on Early German Reform Judaism. LEON NEMOY, Studies in the History of the Early Karaite Liturgy: The Liturgy of Al-Qirqisānī. JACOB NEUSNER, Some Early Traditions concerning Yohanan ben Zakkai. SHLOMO NOBLE, The Jewish Woman in Medieval Martyrology. HERBERT PARZEN, Observations on Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*. MOSHE PERLMANN, "Talmudic Human Sacrifices": Egypt 1890. MOSHE PELLI, The Methodology Employed by the Hebrew Reformers in the First Reform Temple Controversy (1818–1819). ISAAC RABINOWITZ, A Rectification of the Date of Judah Messer Leon's Death. NAHUM M. SARNA, The Order of the Books. A. SCHEIBER, Bibliographisches aus der Genisa. MENAHEM SCHMELZER, Rashi's *Commentary on the Pentateuch and on the Five Scrolls*, Venice, Bomberg, 1538. EISIG SILBERSCHLAG, Contemporary Hebrew Literature: Source of Untapped Values. FRANK TALMAGE, David Kimhi and the Rationalist Tradition II: Literary Sources. CARL HERMANN VOSS, Letters from Stephen S. Wise to a friend and Colleague: Morton Mayer Berman. MYRON M. WEINSTEIN, A Putative Ceylon Rite. THEODORE WIENER, compiler, Addenda to Yaari's *Bibliography of the Passover Haggadah* from the Library of Congress Hebraica Collection. YOSEF HAYIM YERUSHALMI, *Privileğos del Poderozo Rey Karlo* (1740): A Neapolitan Call for the Return of the Jews, and Its Ladino Translation. HERBERT C. ZAFREN, Dyhernfurth and Shabtai Bass: A Typographic Profile. FRANK ZIMMERMANN, A Suggested Source for Some of the Substitute Names for YHWH.

JÜRGENSEN, KURT, and HANSEN, REIMER, editors. *Historisch-politische Streiflichter: Geschichtliche Beiträge zur Gegenwart.* Preface by KARL DIETRICH ERDMANN. Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag. 1971. Pp. 295. DM 29.80.

Einleitung: KURT JÜRGENSEN and REIMER HANSEN.

Zur Ideen- und Verfassungsgeschichte: TILMAN KOOPS, Gehorsam und Widerstandsrecht in der Theologie des orthodoxen Luthertums. KURT JÜRGENSEN, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des belgischen Königreiches: Lamennais und Belgien. HANS PETER MENSING, Die Entwicklung der schwedischen Sozialpolitik im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert. DIETER PUST, Die ersten Flensburger Kommunalwahlen auf der Grundlage des "Normativs" von 1833. GERTRUD JUNG, Das schleswig-holsteinische Kommunalwahlrecht 1867–1914.

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Zur Geschichte der Partein und Verbände: HEINZ JOSEF VARAIN, Zur Geschichte und Theorie der Interessenverbände. GERHARD BEIER, Gruppenspezifische Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der Buchdruckergewerkschaft. GERD SCHWIEGER, Der "Verrat" der deutschen Sozialdemokratie: Überlegungen zur Kriegspolitik der SPD im Ersten Weltkrieg. ERASMUS JONAS, Brüning und die Konservativen.

Zur innen- und aussenpolitischen Entwicklung in der Zeit der Weltkriege: ERICH-WOLFGANG HUBRICH, Zur amerikanischen Intervention in Europa 1914–1919: Aussenminister Robert Lansing und Präsident Woodrow Wilson im Spiegel der Lansing Papers. HELMUT GRIESER, Die Rapallo-Politik in sowjetischer Sicht: Zur Beurteilung der deutschen Aussenpolitik 1922–1932 in der zeitgenössischen sowjetischen Presse. JÜRGEN BLUNCK, Der Gedanke der Grossen Koalition in den Jahren 1923–1928. KARL-HEINZ HARBECK, Zur Geschichte der "Zeitschrift für Geopolitik" 1924–1944. HANS-JÜRGEN KRÜGER, Zum Verhältnis von Faschismus und Ständestaat. JENS PETERSEN, Italien in der aussenpolitischen Konzeption Hitlers. KARL-HEINZ MINUTH, Britische Balkanstrategie 1942/43: Betrachtungen zu Churchills "The Second World War." REIMER HANSEN, Die deutsche Kapitulation 1945.

Zur afro-asiatischen Geschichte: ERNST KOHL, Die christlichen Kirchen und die Rassenfrage in Südafrika. JOHANNES H. VOIGT, Nationalismus in der indischen Geschichtsschreibung. BERNHARD DAHM, Werdegang und politische Ideen Sukarnos.

Papers Presented at the Second Annual New Jersey History Symposium Held December 5, 1970 at the State Museum, Trenton under the Auspices of the New Jersey Historical Commission. Newark, N. J.: The New Jersey Historical Society. 1971. Pp. 80. $3.00.

Political Party Systems of New Jersey in the Early National Period: CARL E. PRINCE, The Leadership of New Jersey's First Party System. HERBERT ERSHKOWITZ, The Origins of the Whig and Democratic Parties in New Jersey, 1820–1837. JAMES M. BANNER, JR., Comments.

The Historical Geography of New Jersey: PETER O. WACKER, New Jersey's Cultural Landscape before 1800. THEODORE W. KURY, Iron as a Factor in New Jersey Settlement. A. PHILIP MUNTZ, Comments.

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Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between February 1 and May 1, 1972. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL

ARBORE, VIRGIL, *et al. Atlas istoric.* Ed. by VASILICA NEAGU. Bucharest: Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică. 1971. Pp. 197.

BEN-SASSON, H. H., and ETTINGER, S. (eds.). *Jewish Society through the Ages.* New York: Schocken Books. 1971. Pp. 352. $12.50.

BESTERMAN, THEODORE. *History and Geography: A Bibliography of Bibliographies.* In 4 vols. The Besterman World Bibliographies. Totowa, N. J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1972. Pp. 408; 409–802; 803–1196; 1197–1587. $60.00 the set.

BLACK, C. E., and HELMREICH, E. C. *Twentieth Century Europe: A History.* 4th ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. xxiv, 1008, xxviii. $15.95.

BOULDING, KENNETH E., and MUKERJEE, TAPAN (eds.). *Economic Imperialism: A Book of Readings.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1972. Pp. xviii, 338. $10.00.

BRIGGS, ROBIN. *The Scientific Revolution of the Seventeenth Century.* Seminar Studies in History. New York: Harper and Row. 1969. Pp. x, 121. $2.95.

CARDWELL, D. S. L. *Turning Points in Western Technology: A Study of Technology, Science and History.* New York: Science History Publications. 1972. Pp. xi, 244. Cloth $10.50, paper $5.00.

CHEIN, ISIDOR. *The Science of Behavior and the Image of Man.* New York: Basic Books. 1972. Pp. xii, 347. $12.50.

CLAYTON, G. D. *Britain and the Eastern Question: Missolonghi to Gallipoli.* The London History Studies, No. 8. [London:] University of London Press; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N. J. 1971. Pp. 256. $3.00.

CONSTANTINESCU, MIRON, and LIVEANU, VASILE. *Problems of History and of Social Theory.* Tr. by MARY LĂZĂRESCU. Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Studies, No. 30. Bucharest: Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania. 1970. Pp. 170. Lei 6.50.

CORNEHLS, JAMES V. (ed. with an introd.). *Economic Development and Economic Growth.* New York Times Book. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1972. Pp. ix, 286. Cloth $8.95, paper $2.65.

DANIELS ROBERT V. *Studying History: How and Why.* 2d ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1972. Pp. viii, 120. $1.95.

DORN, GEORGETTE M. (comp.). *Latin America, Spain, and Portugal: An Annotated Bibliography of Paperback Books.* Hispanic Foundation Bibliographical Ser., No. 13. Washington: Library of Congress. 1971. Pp. 180. 75 cents.

DRENNEN, D. A. *Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto: A Full Textual Explication.* Woodbury, N. Y.: Barron's Educational Ser. 1972. Pp. v, 202. $1.95.

ENGELS, FREDERICK. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State: In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan.* With an introd. and notes by ELEANOR BURKE LEACOCK. New York: International Publishers. 1972. Pp. 285. $7.50.

EPSTEIN, FRITZ T., *et al.* (eds.). *The American Bibliography of Russian and East European Studies for 1966.* Russian and East European Ser., Russian and East European Institute, Indiana University, vol. 40. Bloomington: Indiana University Press for International Affairs Center. 1972. Pp. xxiii, 148. $3.50.

FLATHMAN, RICHARD E. *Political Obligation.* Studies in Political Theory. New York: Atheneum. 1972. Pp. xxvii, 334. $12.95.

German Polish Dialogue: Letters of the Polish and German Bishops and International Statements. Bonn: Edition Atlantic-Forum. 1966. Pp. 127.

GRIMM, HAROLD J. *The Reformation.* AHA Pamphlets 403. Washington: American Historical Association. 1972. Pp. 33. $1.00.

HACOHEN, JOSEPH, and the ANONYMOUS CORRECTOR. *The Vale of Tears* (Emek Habacha). Tr. and with a critical commentary by HARRY S. MAY. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1971. Pp. xiii, 146. 18 gls.

HERMANNS, WILLIAM. *The Holocaust: From a Survivor of Verdun.* New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. xii, 141. $5.95.

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Humboldt, Trabajos de. Ser. Historica, No. 8. Bicentenario de Humboldt. Havana: Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, Museo Histórico de las Ciencias "Carlos J. Finlay." 1969. Pp. 31.

Humboldt, Trabajos sobre. In 2 pts. Ser. Historica, Nos. 9 and 10. Bicentenario de Humboldt. Havana: Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, Museo Histórico de las Ciencias "Carlos J. Finlay." 1969. Pp. 38; 31.

INNIS, HAROLD A. *Empire and Communications.* Rev. by MARY Q. INNIS. Foreword by MARSHALL MCLUHAN. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 184. $2.75.

JORDAN, ROBERT S. (ed.). *Multinational Cooperation: Economic, Social, and Scientific Development.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. xiii, 392. $4.95.

Keynes, John Maynard, The Collected Writings of. Vol. 2, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace.* [New York:] St. Martin's Press for the Royal Economic Society. 1971. Pp. xxv, 191. $9.50.

LAGO, MARY M. (ed., with an introd. and notes). *Imperfect Encounter: Letters of William Rothenstein and Rabindranath Tagore, 1911–1941.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. xiii, 402. $15.00.

LANGER, WILLIAM L. (ed.). *Perspectives in Western Civilization: Essays from* Horizon. In 2 vols. New York: American Heritage; Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. 287; 286. $3.25 each.

LIDDEL HART, B. H. *Why Don't We Learn from History?* Rev. ed.; New York: Hawthorn Books. 1971. Pp. 95. $3.95.

LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ, JOSÉ. *Humboldt y su época.* Ser. Historica, No. 13. Bicentenario de Humboldt. Havana: Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, Museo Histórico de las Ciencias "Carlos J. Finlay." 1970. Pp. 151.

LOUCA, ANOUAR. *Henry Dunant et les origines chevaleresques de la Croix-Rouge.* Geneva: Association Suisse-Arabe. 1971. Pp. 26.

LUZA, RADOMIR. *History of the International Socialist Youth Movement.* European Aspects: A Collection of Studies Relating to European Integration Published under the Auspices of the Council of Europe. Ser. C: Politics, No. 20. Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff. 1970. Pp. 336. 25 gls.

MALLIN, JAY (ed. and with an introd.). *Terror and Urban Guerrillas: A Study of Tactics and Documents.* Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1971. Pp. 176. $7.95.

MERLIN, MARK DAVID. *Man and Marijuana: Some Aspects of Their Ancient Relationship.* Rutherford, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1972. Pp. 120. $8.00.

MEUVRET, JEAN. *Études d'histoire économique: Recueil d'articles.* Cahiers des Annales, 32. Paris: Librarie Armand Colin. 1971. Pp. 344. 35 fr.

MICHEL, HENRI. *La seconde guerre mondiale.* "Que *sais-je?*" No. 265. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1971. Pp. 126.

NEIDER, CHARLES (ed. with an introd. and notes). *Antarctica: Authentic Accounts of Life and Exploration in the World's Highest, Driest, Windiest, Coldest and Most Remote Continent.* New York: Random House, 1972. Pp. x, 464. $10.00.

NÚÑEZ JIMÉNEZ, ANTONIO. *Humboldt, espeleologo precursor.* Ser. Historica, No. 11. Bicentenario de Humboldt. Havana: Academia de Ciencias de Cuba. 1969. Pp. 29.

NÚÑEZ JIMÉNEZ, ANTONIO, and CERMAK, JOSEPH. *Discursos.* Ser. Historica, No. 12. Bicentenario de Humboldt. Havana: Academia de Ciencias de Cuba. 1969. Pp. 12.

O'CONNOR, RAYMOND G. *Force & Diplomacy: Essays Military and Diplomatic.* Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1972. Pp. 167. $10.00.

PAYNE, ROBERT (ed. with an introd.). *The Unknown Karl Marx: Documents Concerning Karl Marx.* New York: New York University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 337. $8.75.

PESCH, OTTO HERMANN, O.P. *The God Question in Thomas Aquinas and Martin Luther.* Tr. by GOTTFRIED G. KRODEL. Facet Books. Historical Ser., 21 (Reformation). Philadelphia: Fortress Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 38. $1.00.

PIEL, GERARD. *The Acceleration of History.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. 369. $8.95.

POULTON, HELEN J., with the assistance of MARGUERITE S. HOWLAND. *The Historian's Handbook: A Descriptive Guide to Reference Works.* Foreword by WILBUR S. SHEPPERSON. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 304. $4.95.

PROKOSCH, ERICH (tr., ed., and with an introd.). *Molla und Diplomat: Der Bericht des Ebû Sehil Nu'mân Efendi über die österreichisch-osmanische Grenzziehung nach dem Belgrader Frieden 1740/41.* Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, No. 7. Graz: Verlag Styria. 1972. Pp. 250. Sch. 160.

ROBERTS, J. M. (ed.). *Europe in the 20th Century: Readings in 20th Century History.* Vol. 2, *1914–25.* New York: Taplinger. 1971. Pp. 362. $7.95.

SALVADORI, MASSIMO (ed.). *European Liberalism.* Major Issues in History. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1972. Pp. 189. Cloth $6.95, paper $3.50.

SHEEHAN, JAMES J., *et al. Modern European Social History: Selections.* Ed. by ROBERT J. BEZUCHA. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath. 1972. Pp. xix, 386.

STADLER, PETER. *Karl Marx: Ideologie und Politik.* Personlichkeit und Geschichte, No. 40/41. 2d rev. ed.; Göttingen: Musterschmidt. 1971. Pp. 146. DM 7.80.

STIPP, JOHN L., *et al. The Rise and Development of Western Civilization.* Vol. 1. 2d ed.; New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1972. Pp. xix, 748. Cloth $10.95, paper $7.95.

TIERNEY, BRIAN, *et al.* (eds.). *Great Issues in Western Civilization.* In 2 vols. 2d ed.; New York: Random House. 1972. Pp. xv, 581; xv, 677.

TURNER, ARTHUR CAMPBELL. *The Unique Partnership: Britain and the United States.* "America's In-

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volvement with the World" Ser. New York: Pegasus. 1971. Pp. vii, 216. $6.95.

VALLIER, IVAN (ed.). *Comparative Methods in Sociology: Essays on Trends and Applications.* Published under the auspices of the Institute of International Studies, University of California (Berkeley). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 474. $14.50.

VERLINDEN, CHARLES. *Christophe Colomb.* "Que sais-je?" No. 1457. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1972. Pp. 126.

WARD, PAUL L. *Elements of Historical Thinking.* Discussions on Teaching 1. Washington: American Historical Association. 1971. Pp. 41. $1.00.

WHITROW, MAGDA (ed.). *ISIS Cumulative Bibliography: A Bibliography of the History of Science, Formed from ISIS Critical Bibliographies 1–90, 1913–65.* Vol. 1, pt. 1, *Personalities* A–J; vol. 2, pt. 1, *Personalities* K–Z, pt. 2, *Institutions.* [London:] Mansell, in conjunction with the History of Science Society. 1971. Pp. lxviii, 664; 789. $67.20 the set.

WILLIAMS, ETHEL L., and BROWN, CLIFTON L. (comps.). *Afro-American Religious Studies: A Comprehensive Bibliography with Locations in American Libraries.* Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press. 1972. Pp. x, 11–454. $12.50.

WILSON, CHARLES. *Europa im Spiegel russischer Geschichte: Wie Alexander Gerschenkron es sieht.* Kölner Vorträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 16. Cologne: Forschungsinstitut für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte an der Universität zu Köln. 1971. Pp. 20.

WOLF, JOHN B. *Early Modern Europe, 1500/1789.* World Civilization Ser., Vol. 4. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman. 1972. Pp. 237.

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BUJNOCH, JOSEF (tr. with introd. and notes). *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz: Leben und Wirken der Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios nach den Pannonischen Legenden und der Klemensvita. Bericht von der Taufe Russlands nach der Laurentiuschronik.* Slavische Geschichtsschreiber, No. 1. 2d rev. ed.; Graz: Verlag Styria. 1972. Pp. 254. Sch. 160.

CATONI, GIULIANO (ed.). *Libri dell'entrata e dell'uscita del comune di Siena detti della Biccherna: Registro 30° (1259, secondo semestre).* Ministero dell'Interno, Pubblicazioni degli archivi di stato. Fonti e sussidi, 2. Rome: the Ministero. 1970. Pp. xl, 169. L. 4,000.

CHIBNALL, MARJORIE (ed. and tr.). *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis.* Vol. 3, *Books V and VI.* Oxford Medieval Texts. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. xxviii, 408. $34.00.

CUTTINO, G. P. *English Diplomatic Administration, 1259–1339.* Oxford Historical Monographs. 2d rev. ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. 280. $13.00. See rev. of 1st ed. (1940), *AHR,* 46 (1940–41): 386.

DARBY, H. C. *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England.* 3d ed.; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. xiv, 400. $32.50. See rev. of 1st ed. (1952), *AHR,* 58 (1952–53): 971.

DEMOLON, PIERRE. *Le village mérovingien de Brebières (VI^e–VII^e siècles).* With a study of the fauna by TH. POULAIN-JOSIEN. Foreword by ERNEST WILL. Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, No. 21(1). Arras: Archives du Pas-de-Calais. 1972. Pp. 338. 50 fr.

GEIGER, HANS-ULRICH. *Der Beginn der Gold- und Dickmünzenprägung in Bern: Ein Beitrag zur Bernischen Münz- und Geldgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts.* Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, No. 52. [Bern: the Verein.] 1968. Pp. 265.

JACKSON, KENNETH. *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer.* The Osborn Bergin Memorial Lecture 1970. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. xv, 164. $10.00.

KNOWLES, DAVID, and HADCOCK, R. NEVILLE. *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales.* Rev. ed.; New York: St. Martin's Press. 1972. Pp. xv, 565, 6 maps. $29.95. See rev. of 1st ed. (1953), *AHR,* 59 (1953–54): 678.

MARCHAL-VERDOODT, MONIQUE. *Tables des noms de personnes et de lieux mentionnés dans les plus anciens comptes de la recette générale de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1383–1389).* Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire. 1971. Pp. 400.

PÁLSSON, HERMANN, and EDWARDS, PAUL (trs.). *Hrolf Gautreksson: A Viking Romance.* The New Saga Library. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1972. Pp. 148. $5.00.

PREVENIER, W. *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191–aanvang 1206).* Vol. 3, *Documentatie en indices.* Verzameling van de akten der belgische vorsten. Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van België, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis. 1972. Pp. 308. See revs. of vol. 1 (1966), *AHR,* 73 (1967–68): 791, and 2 (1964), *AHR,* 71 (1965–66): 1311.

QUILLET, JEANNINE. *Les clefs du pouvoir au Moyen Âge.* Questions d'histoire. [Paris:] Flammarion. 1972. Pp. 190.

ROSS, JAMES F. (ed.). *Inquiries into Medieval Philosophy: A Collection in Honor of Francis P. Clarke.* Contributions in Philosophy, 4. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1971. Pp. xii, 329. $15.00.

SAWYER, P. H. *The Age of the Vikings.* 2d ed.; New York: St. Martin's. 1972. Pp. vi, 275. $10.95. See rev. of 1st ed. (1962), *AHR,* 69 (1963–64): 95.

TREHARNE, R. F. *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258–1263.* Including the Raleigh Lecture on History delivered to the British Academy, 1954. Publications of the University of Manchester, No. 221. Historical Ser. No. 62. The Ward Bequest, vol. 6 [2d ed.;] New York: Barnes and Noble. 1971. Pp. xv, 478. $15.00. See rev. of 1st ed. (1932), *AHR,* 39 (1933–34): 502.

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WYFFELS, C. *De rekeningen van de Stad Brugge (1280–1319).* Vol. 1 *(1280–1302)* Pt. 2: *Indices.* Verzameling van onuitgegeven Belgische Kronieken en van onuitgegeven Documenten betreffende de Geschiedenis van België. Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van België, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis. 1971. Pp. 223.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND IRELAND

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A GUIDE TO THE ABBREVIATION OF JOURNAL TITLES

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Abt	Abteilung
acad	academia, academy
accad	accademia
adm	administration, administrative
aff	affairs
afric	africain, African
afrik	afrikaanse
agric	agricultural, agriculture
AHR	*American Historical Review*
aikakausk	aikakauskirja
Akad	Akademie
Ala	Alabama
Alas	Alaska
alemann	alemannisches
allg	allgemein
Altertumsk	Altertumskunde
alttest	alttestamentliche
Am	American
an	anales, Annalen, annales, annali, annals, annuaires, annual, annuarium
anc	ancien, ancient
anthol	anthology
anthropol	anthropologie, anthropology
antiq	antiquarian, antiquarisch, antiquarischen, antiquité, antiquities, antiquity
antol	antología
antropol	antropologiczny
anz	anzeiger
appenzell	appenzellische
arch	archiven, archives, archivio, archivo, archiv, Archivum
archaeol	archaeolog, archaeology
archäol	Archäologie, archäologische, archäologischer
archeol	archeologie, archeology
Ariz	Arizona
Ark	Arkansas
ark	arkiv
arq	arquivos
arqueol	arqueológico
assoc	association
assyriol	assyriological, assyriologie, assyriology
at	atti
Atl	Atlantic
b	buch (compounds only)
balt	baltisch
bayer	bayerisch
Beitr	Beitrag, Beiträge
Ber	Bericht
bibl	bibliotek, bibliotheca, bibliothèque
bibliogr	bibliografice, bibliographical, bibliography
bijd	bijdragen
biog	biography
Bl	Blatt, Blätter
bol	boletim, boletin
boll	bollettino
brandenburg	brandenburgisch
bras	brasileira
braunschw	braunschweigisch
Braz	Brazilian
brem	bremisches
Brit	British
bull	bulletin
bus	business
byz	byzantine
cah	cahiers
Calif	California
Can	Canadian
Carib	Caribbean
cath	catholic
cent	century
cercet	cercetări
českoslov	československy
chron	chronicles, chronique
circ	circle, circular
civil	civilization
class	classica, classical, classique
co	county
coll	college
collect	collection, collections

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Colo	Colorado
com	comité, committee
comm	commerce
comp	comparative
compil	compilation, compiled, compiler
concl	conclusion
conf	conference
cong	congress
Conn	Connecticut
contemp	contemporaine, contemporánea, contemporary
corp	corporation
corr	correspondence
c. r.	comptes rendus
crit	critica, criticism
cuad	cuaderno
cult	cultura, cultural, culture
D.C.	District of Columbia
Del	Delaware
demog	demografie, demographische, demography
dept	department
deux	deuxième
dev	developing, development
dig	digest
dipl	diplomatic, diplomatique
doc	documentation, documents
dok	dokuments
drev	drevnei
dtsch	deutsche, deutschen, deutsches
e	east, eastern
ec	economics, economique, economy
eccles	ecclesiastical
ecles	eclesiástico
ed	edited, editor
educ	education
EEH	*Explorations in Economic History*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ELH	*English Literary History*
Eng	English
epig	epigraphik, epigraphy
Epis	Episcopal
estud	estúdios
et	études
ethnog	ethnographisch
ethnol	ethnological, ethnology
etnol	etnología
Eur	Europe, European, européennes
ev	evangelisch
explor	explorations
fac	faculté, faculty
Fak	Fakult
fil	filosofia
filol	filología
Fla	Florida
for	foreign
Forsch	Forschung, Forschungen
fr	français, French
francisc	franciscanum
fränk	fränkische
frankf	frankfurter
g	giornale
Ga	Georgia
gaz	gazette
gen	general, général
geneal	genealogy
geog	geográfico, geographic, geographical, géographique, geographischen, geography
Ger	German
germ	germanistisch
Ges	Gesellschaft
gesch	Geschichte, geschichtliche
gos	gospodarczych
govt	government
grad	graduate
Grafsch	Grafschaft
h	hefte (compounds only)
hamburg	hamburgisch
hann	hannoversche
hell	hellenic, hellénique, hellenistic
helvet	helvetian
hess	hessisch
hisp	hispanic
hist	histoire, historiae, historiallinen, historical, historická, historický, histórico, historicum, historique, historisch, history, historyczne
hohenzoll	hohenzollerische
holstein	holsteinisch
iaz	iazyka
Ida	Idaho
Ill	Illinois
illus	illustrated
ind	industrial, industry
Inda	Indiana
individ	individual
inst	Institut, institute, institution, instituto
int	internacional, international, internationale
interdisc	interdisciplinary
intern	internal
introd	introduced, introduction
ist	istorii, istorijski, istoriski
istruz	istruzione
ital	Italian, italiana, italienisch
j	journal
Jb	Jahrbuch, Jahrbücher
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
jugoslov	jugoslovenski
jur	juridical, juridiceski, juridique
kan	kanonistisch
Kans	Kansas
kath	katholik
Kd	Kunde
Kl	Klasse
Ky	Kentucky
La	Louisiana
Landesk	Landeskunde
lang	language
lett	letter, letterário, lettre
lib	library
Lib Cong	U.S. Library of Congress
libr	librarian
ling	linguistics, linguistique
lit	literary, literatur, literature, literatury
lübeck	lübeckische
lüneburg	lüneburger
mag	magasin, magazine
marit	maritime
Mass	Massachusetts
Md	Maryland
Me	Maine
med	medieval, médiévale, medievales
meded	mededelingen
Mediterr	Mediterranean
mél	mélanges
mém	mémoires, memorie

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mennonit	mennonitische
Mex	Mexican
Mich	Michigan
mid	middle
midcont	midcontinental
mil	militaire, militarisch, military
Minn	Minnesota
misc	miscellany
Miss	Mississippi
Mitt	Mitteilung, Mitteilungen
Mo	Missouri
mod	modern, moderna, moderne
mond	mondiale
Mont	Montana
monum	monumenta
movim	movimento
mt	mountain
mus	museum
n	north, northern
nac	nacional
nass	nassauische
nat	national
nationalok	nationaløkonomie, nationalökonomisk
naz	nazionale
N.C.	North Carolina
N.D.	North Dakota
ne	northeast
Nebr	Nebraska
neutest	neutestamentliche
Nev	Nevada
newslett	newsletter
N.H.	New Hampshire
niedersächs	niedersächsisch
N.J.	New Jersey
N.M.	New Mexico
no	number
nos	numbers
Nor	Norway
nord	nordisk
norm	normale
numis	numismatic, numismatique
nw	northwest
N.Y.	New York
oesterr	oesterreichisch
øk	økonomie
Okla	Oklahoma
Ore	Oregon
organ	organization
orient	oriental, orientalia, orientalistyczny
österr	österreichisch
Osth	Osthefte
Pa	Pennsylvania
Pac	Pacific
pädagog	pädagogik, pädagogisch
paedagog	paedagogica
pap	papers
papyrol	papyrologie
parl	parlementaire, parliament
pfälz	pfälzische
phil	philosophical, philosophique, philosophy
philol	philology
photo	photograph
pol	political, político, politics, Politik, politique, politische
port	portuguesa, portuguese
pres	president, presidential
Presb	Presbyterian
preuss	preussisch
probl	problems
proc	proceedings
prot	protestant, Protestantismus
prov	provence, provinces
PSQ	*Political Science Quarterly*
psych	psychology
pt	part
pts	parts
publ	publication, publishing
q	quaderni, quarterly
quel	quellen
r	review, revista, revue, rivista
rass	rassegna
Rdsch	Rundschau
rec	record
rech	recherches
regist	register
relig	religion, religiöse, religious
rend	rendiconti
rep	report, reporter
res	research
rev	revolution
rhein	rheinisch
R.I.	Rhode Island
ric	ricerche
rocz	roczniki
roman	romanische
roy	royal
s	south, southern
S.C.	South Carolina
Scand	Scandinavia, Scandinavian
schles	schlesisch
Schr	Schrift
schweiz	schweizerisch
sci	science, scientific, scientist, scienze
S.D.	South Dakota
se	southeast
sec	sectio, section
ser	série, series
slaw	slawistik
soc	social, society
sociog	sociographiques
sociol	sociologia, sociological, sociology
solothurn	solothurnische
sozial	sozialistischen
Soziol	Soziologie
spøl	spølecznuch
stat	statistical, statistics, Statistik
stift	stiftung
stor	storia, storici, storico
stud	studi, Studien, studies, studium
sup	superiore
suppl	supplement
sw	southwest
Sw	Sweden
Swed	Swedish
symp	symposium
tech	technisch
technol	technology
Tenn	Tennessee
test	testament, testamentum
Tex	Texas
theol	theological, theology
tids	tidskrift, tidsskrift
tijd	tijdschrift
tr	translated, translation, translator
trans	transactions
trav	travail, travaux
u	und
U	University

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Unter	Unterricht
Va	Virginia
vaterl	vaterlandisch
ver	Verein, vereinigung, Vereins
Verh	Verhandlungen
Veröff	Veröffentlichungen
vesn	vesnik
vest	vestnik
volksk	volkskunde
vopr	voprosy
vrem	vremennuk
Vt	Vermont
w	west, western
Wash	Washington
westf	westfälisch
wirtsch	Wirtschaft, wirtschaftlich
Wis	Wisconsin
wiss	Wissenschaft, wissenschäftlich
WMQ	*William and Mary Quarterly*
württemb	württembergisch
W. Va.	West Virginia
Wyo	Wyoming
yrbk	yearbook
Z	Zeitschrift, Zeitschriften
Zeitgesch	Zeitgeschichte
zgodov	zgodovinski
zhurn	zhurnal

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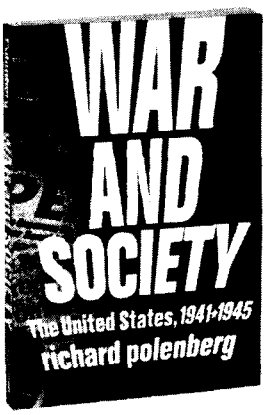
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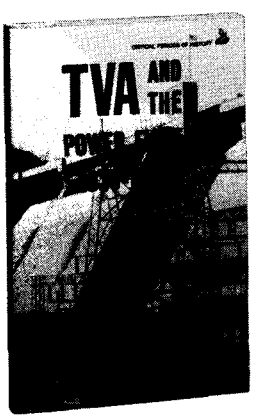
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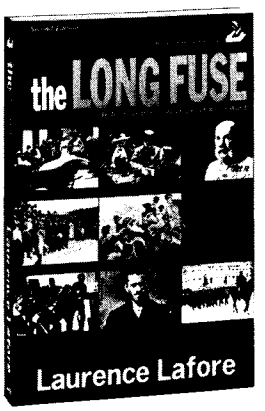
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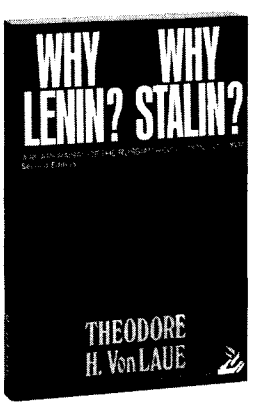
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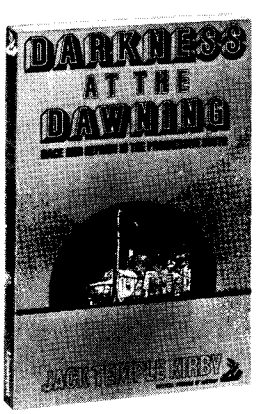
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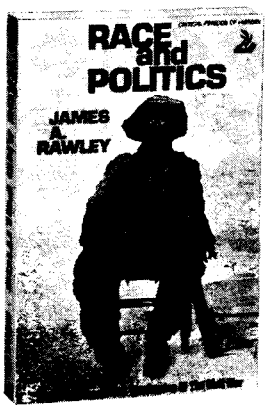
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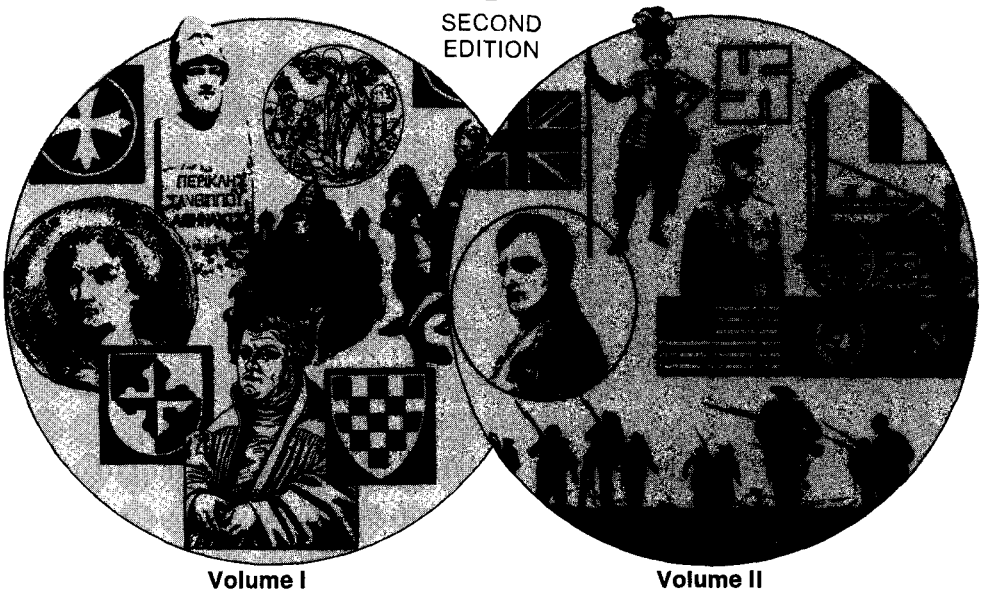
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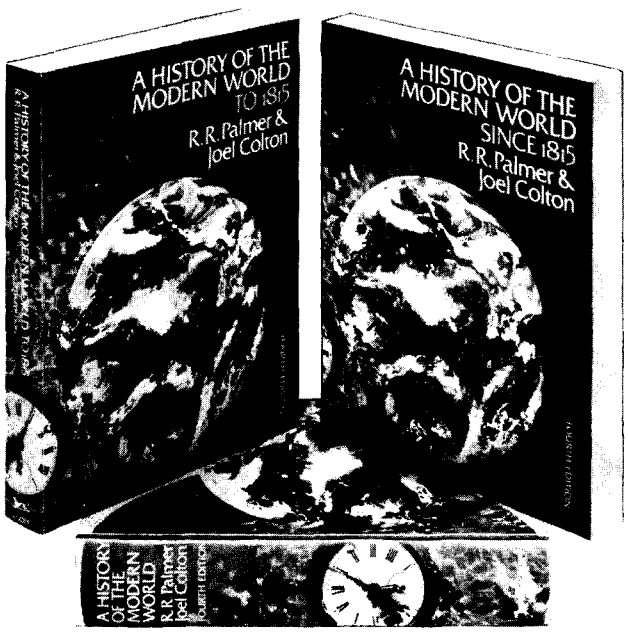
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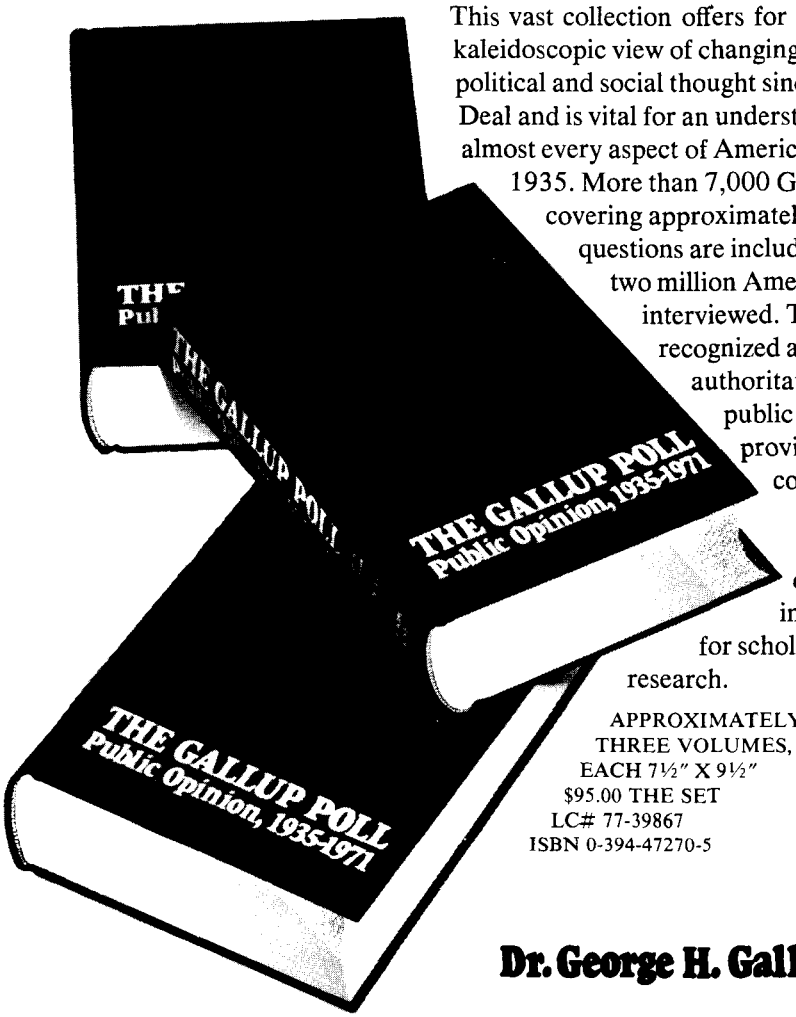
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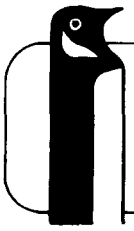
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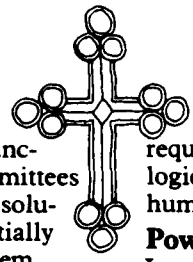
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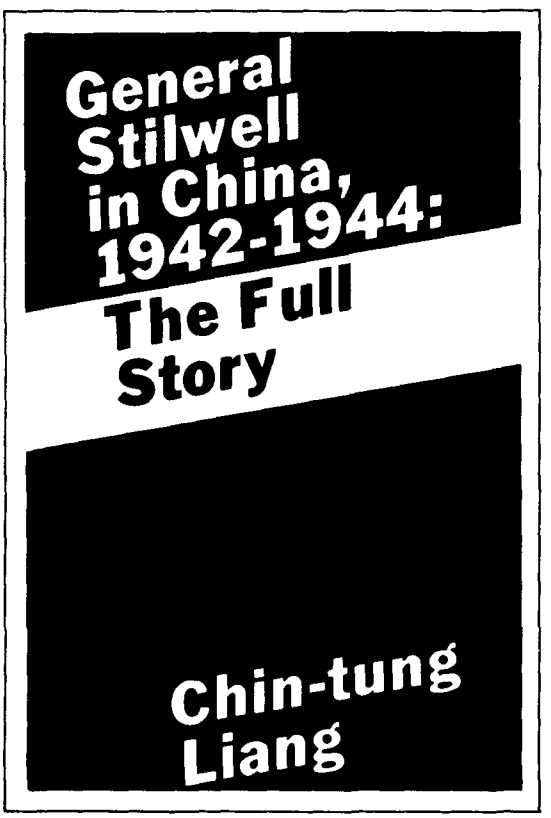
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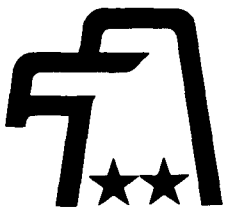
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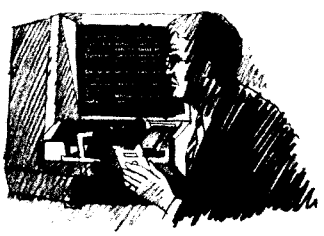
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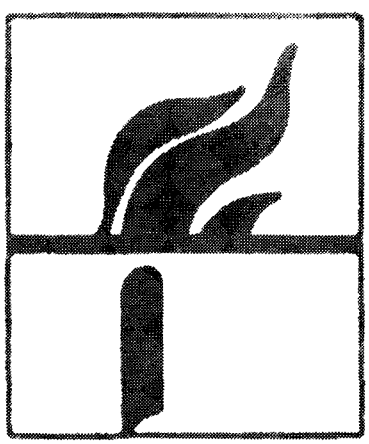
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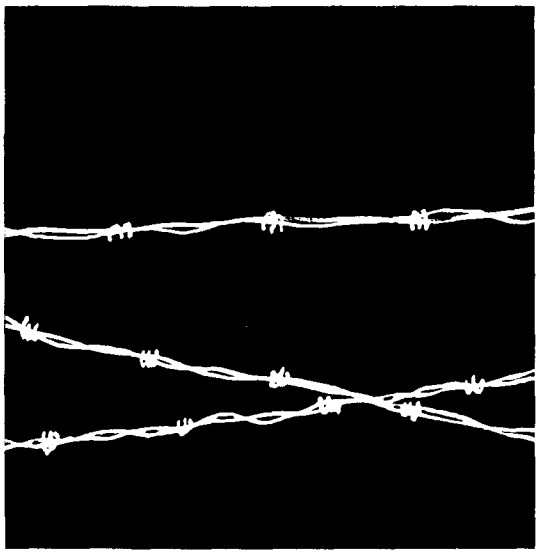
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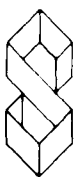
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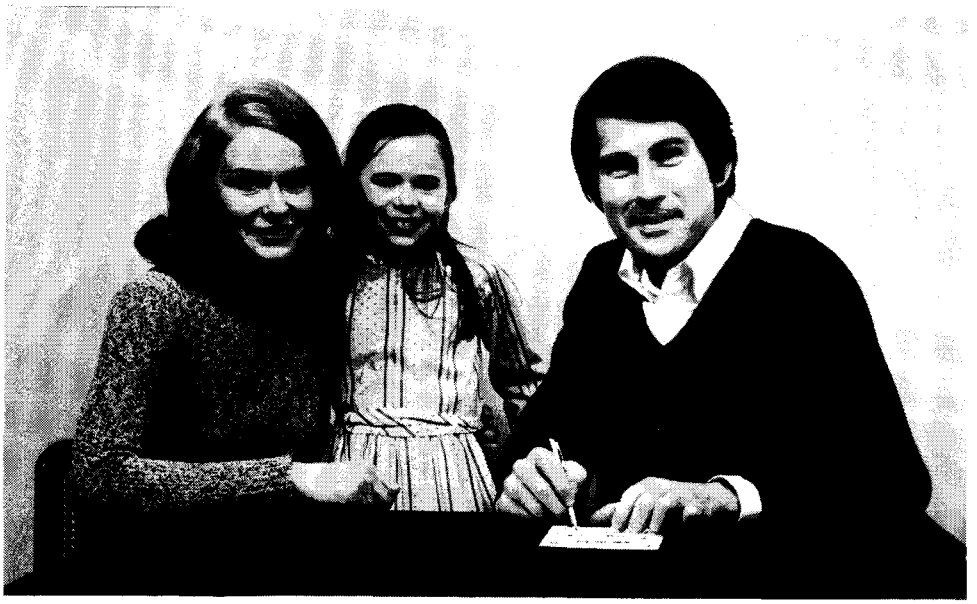
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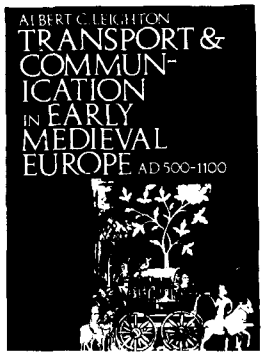
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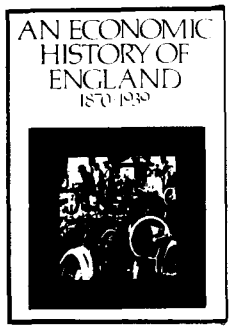
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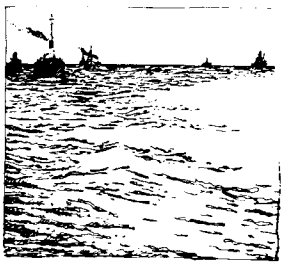
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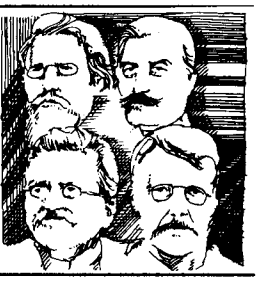
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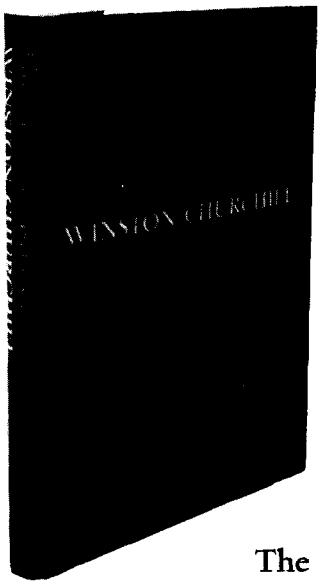
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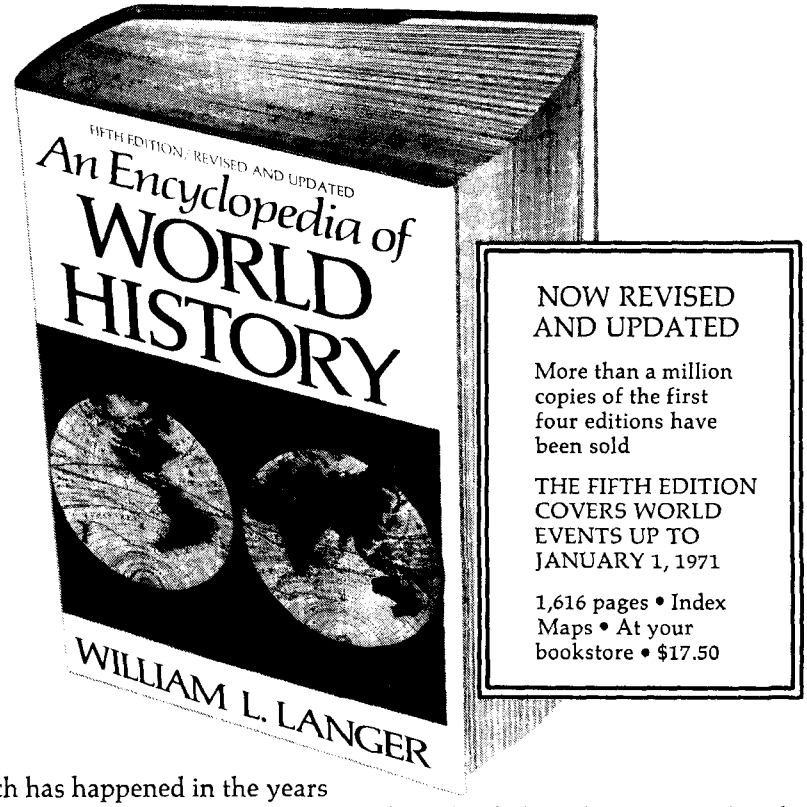
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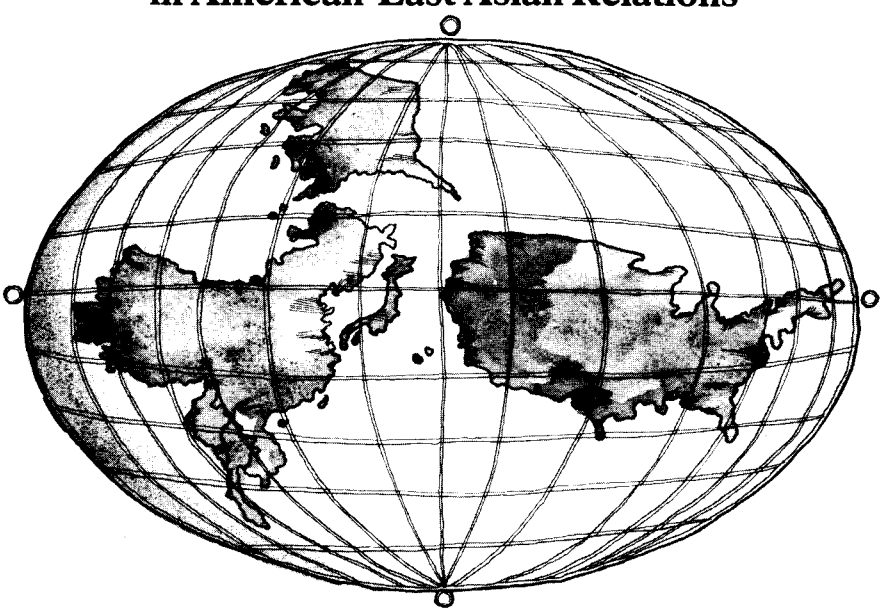
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